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HIS BOOK.

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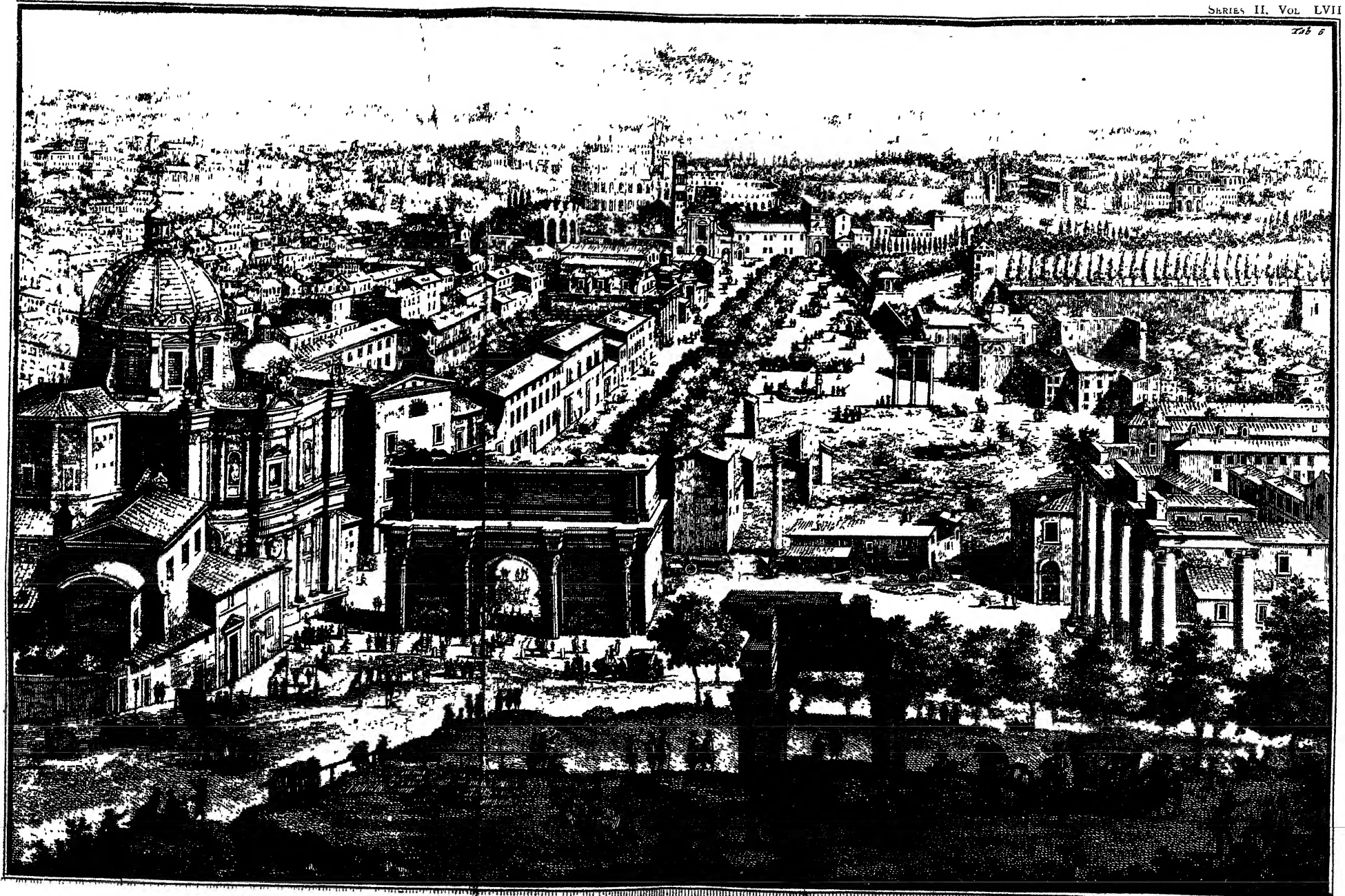
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THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1850, BY LIVINUS CRUYL.

Reproduced and printed by Donald Macbeth, London.

FRANCIS MORTOFT: HIS BOOK

BEING HIS TRAVELS THROUGH

FRANCE AND ITALY

1658—1659.

EDITED BY

MALCOLM LETTS

AUTHOR OF "BRUGES AND ITS PAST."

LONDON:

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PREFACE



IN preparing this manuscript for the press I have had many helpers to whom my special thanks are due. Sir Richard Temple first suggested that I should undertake the work, and most kindly supported the project when it came before the Council of the Society. Miss A. J. Mayes transcribed the diary, drew the maps, and has assisted me in many ways. Miss L. M. Anstey readily undertook the preparation of the index. Canon H. Maynard Smith, who in his work on Evelyn's *Diary* is covering much the same ground and period, has lent me books, and kindly took the Florence portion with him to Italy and checked it on the spot. To Dr. Thomas Ashby, until recently Director of the British School at Rome, a special debt is due. He dealt with a long list of queries and helped me to clear up many points which remained obscure. My friend Mr. S. James Brown read the proofs, and my wife gladly assumed far more than her share of the labour involved in editing a work of this kind.

The method of transcribing the manuscript is the same as that adopted in the case of Mundy's travels—that is, the author's spelling and capitals have been preserved, but his contractions have been written out in full. The punctuation is mine.

MALCOLM LETTS.

LAW SOCIETY'S HALL,
CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

November, 1925.

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INTRODUCTION



THE journal of Francis Mortoft's travels through France and Italy in the years 1658-1659 is preserved among the Sloane manuscripts at the British Museum.¹ Nothing definite has been discovered about Mortoft, although it seems likely that he was the young man, son of Valentine Mortoft, of London, Gentleman, of whom some details are given later, and only three of his companions are mentioned by name—Mr. Stanley, Mr. Hare, and later a Monsieur Pillat. The journal itself is an honest, straightforward narrative of a typical Grand Tour, with not a few touches of shrewdness and humour which raise it above the average travel-diary of the period. The detailed description of Rome, where Mortoft and his companions spent three months, would alone justify the printing of the journal, but apart from this, the travellers crossed a part of France not much visited by foreigners in the 17th century, and had many experiences which throw new and interesting light on the conditions of travel in Europe at that time.

¹ *Sloane MS.* 2142 In the index the journal is said to be by F Mortoft, but in the same index, under Italy, it is ascribed to Dr. T Gill In the catalogue the MS is described as the journal of Mr Geo Stanley's travels through France and Italy The journal is clearly the work of Mortoft Dr Gill was at one time the owner of the MS Mortoft's journey occupies 86 folios. Fo 1^r contains shorthand notes of expenses Fo 1^v contains a six-line stanza in Italian followed by 17 lines in English, commencing "I bleed yet cannot find nor cure my wound", all in Mortoft's hand Fo 87^r contains a poem entitled "A Farewell to Ye World"—16 May, and on the verso other lines—likewise in Mortoft's hand Fo 88 has "A description of a Sataffe," with two figures, explaining the principles of a "waterworks," in another hand. Fo 89 contains a few notes of travel, also in another hand, dated 1703. The MS. is written in a fairly clear 17th century script on 8vo paper, bound at a later date in red-brown morocco. The journal ends abruptly on Fo. 86, and was apparently never finished. I first drew attention to the manuscript in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. I. pp. 221 ff.

As mentioned above, Francis Mortoft has not been clearly identified, but the Visitation of London 1633-1634, gives the pedigree of one, Valentine Mortoft, who was alive in London in 1633.¹ He was married twice, first to Ellner, daughter of Roger Glover of Beaucott, in the County of Bucks, Esquire, and secondly to Margaret, daughter of Sir Hugh Hamersley, Knight. He had several children by each wife, but only four were living at the time of the Visitation, and Francis was apparently not then born. Valentine Mortoft died in 1641, and his will, dated in that year, was proved at London on 24 September. He mentions his wife, Margaret, and his sons, William and Francis, each of whom take a legacy of £500 on attaining the age of 21 years.² If this Francis is our traveller, he was born after 1633, but before 1641. Taking his age to be 5 at the date of his father's death (which is, of course, pure guess-work), he would be of full age in 1657, and might well be spending his £500 legacy abroad in 1658-1659. I can carry the identification no further, but it is an interesting possibility. That Mortoft was a young man at the time of his travels may be assumed. His enthusiasms were obviously prompted by youth, as were also the lines "A Farewell to Ye World" written at the end of the journal. This effusion is a depressing piece, and I was at first tempted to believe that the writer must have perished untimely, far from his family and friends, but as the next page contains further lines commencing:—

If my Mrs. cast her eye,
On these under lines of mine . . .

it seems clear that the writer was suffering from nothing more than a bad attack of love melancholy.

¹ Harleian Society's Publications, vol 17, p. 113.

² PCC. 113, Evelyn. He died on 16 September (Musgrave's Obituary).

Accompanied by Mr George Stanley and one or two others, Mortoft set out on his travels from Calais in September, 1658. The diary gives no account of the journey to Calais, but commences with the statement that the travellers left the town on 1 September, and departed for Boulogne, where they arrived just at the close of the offensive operations undertaken by France and England against Spain, as a result of which the Spaniards had been driven out of the district. Montreuil was reached next—"a very strong Towne" (p. 1). Thence the travellers proceeded to Abbeville, where was an excellent trade in pistols, and to Dieppe, renowned for its hardy and adventurous sailors, and for much dainty work in bone and ivory. At Rouen, which abounded in pears and apples, the travellers remarked the bridge of boats, so cunningly contrived that it rose and fell with the tide, and the great bell in Notre Dame, now unfortunately no more, and on 9 September they reached Paris. Here a stay of ten days was made, but the diary is very brief. Louis XIV had not yet tried his hand at completing the Louvre, but Mortoft describes it as "one of the stateliest in France" (p. 5), and the King's lodgings were "as Rich as any mortal man can be ambitious off" (p. 5). Queen Henrietta Maria was inhabiting the Palais Royal, with a train of attendants who ill repaid the French hospitality by carrying off whatever gold and valuables they could find, and damaging a large number of works of art. Notre Dame is dismissed in a few words, but the Pont Neuf is described in detail, with its statue of Henri IV and its Château d'Eau, both of which have now disappeared. It is clear that, at Paris, Mortoft had not yet got into his stride.

From Paris the travellers set off for Orleans, stopping first to see Richelieu's palace at Rueil, now demolished, and a country house and garden at Essones, on the way to Fontainebleau, which attracted practically every

traveller of the period, and which must have been a very remarkable place indeed. At Orleans they found the church of St. Croix much ruined by the Wars of Religion, but the town itself, with its fruit and wine (the latter a very noble liquor, but somewhat over-strong), the stately walks and the courtesy of the inhabitants, was a very inviting place, and was packed with foreigners who had come to learn the language. In the "Duke's house," which I cannot identify, they were privileged to behold the wayward and treacherous Duke Gaston himself, "a very bigg and grosse man, having a very red Countenance" (p. 8). The next day they reached Chambord and visited the gigantic Château, that "vast and comfortless barrack" commenced by Francis I, upon which 1,800 workmen had laboured for twelve years, and which even then had to be handed over unfinished to the next reign. The castle of Blois was occupied by the Duke of Orleans. As for the town itself, it affected travellers differently. Ed. Browne (1665) liked its situation, but Major Ferrier (1687) found it "a small place with scarce one good house and not one good street in it." Mortoft's impressions are not recorded, but he notes that the French tongue was spoken there with much beauty and elegance, and that for that reason the town was full of strangers (p. 9).

As the travellers passed down the Loire a halt was made at Amboise to see the "very faire castle," rising high above the town, but neither the grandeur of Amboise nor its grim and troubled history seems to have impressed them. They viewed the famous buck's head, with its enormous horns, for centuries the wonder of the castle, which was in fact only a gigantic fraud in wood, but Mortoft records nothing further beyond remarking that the castle stands upon a very high hill, and "wearyes a man very much to goe up to it." From Tours, "a very faire and agreeable city" (p. 10), the streets being both long and clean, the travellers proceeded to Richelieu, where

the Cardinal's palace, described as "the stateliest building that is to be found in the Kingdom," and then belonging to the Duke, the Cardinal's nephew and heir (p. 11), was the chief item of interest. The town itself, though small and but thinly populated since the Cardinal's death, seems to have been a delightful little place, and Mortoft is by no means alone in his admiration of its charm and neatness. Of the great palace practically nothing remains to-day, but the opinions of other travellers are collected in the notes and help us to realise something of its magnificence and charm.

At Saumur, noted for the purity of its French, the travellers found the town full of Germans and Englishmen, all very busy learning the language, and the same day (24 September) they passed on to Angers and to Nantes, a place not great, but strong and full of traffic, where even the gentlewomen and little girls as they sat at their doors or walked about the streets had their spinning work in their hands (p. 13). From Nantes the way to La Rochelle was very difficult to find, so that the travellers were sometimes four hours in riding two leagues, but as they rode along they gathered grapes out of the vineyards which stretched beside the road for 20 miles together. La Rochelle is described as not very populous, which is not surprising after all it had suffered, but it was one of the neatest and cleanest cities in all France, which might invite persons to dwell there sooner than in any other city (p. 14). The travellers crossed to the Island of Ré, which was much visited then on account of its salt works. From Brouage, with a citadel so strong that the like for strength and invention was not to be seen again in all France, a visit was paid to the Island of Oléron. At Saintes the amphitheatre was inspected. At Blaye the travellers took to the water, themselves in one boat and the horses in another, and on Saturday, 13 October, they reached Bordeaux, and put up

at the "Chapeau Rouge." A stay of ten days was made here, and all the notable churches and buildings were seen, but the diary is still somewhat brief. Like most visitors, Mortoft was much impressed by the great street, the Rue du Chapeau Rouge, "as faire and large as any street either in France or England" (p. 18).

On 25 October the journey was continued in the direction of Toulouse. At Cadillac, a small town on the Garonne, there was a wonderful palace belonging to the Duc d'Epemon, "one of the finest contrived houses in all France" (p. 18), and from there, by way of Agen and Montauban, the travellers reached Toulouse. Here they rested for half a day only, but time was found to see the principal sights, and also to obtain particulars concerning the Académie des Jeux Floraux, one of the oldest literary institutions in France, which still flourishes. The next stopping-place was Villefranche, where the inn was kept by a very gay landlady, whose conduct greatly shocked the travellers (p. 22), and Carcassonne was reached on 31 October. Very few visitors came there at this time, and Mortoft's few lines are therefore doubly welcome. But the place entirely failed to interest him. Probably it was then in a dilapidated condition; two hundred years later, but for the activities of a number of public-spirited archæologists, it would have been delivered over to the housebreakers. Now, a little over-restored perhaps, it remains the most perfect specimen of a mediæval walled and fortified town which has come down to us. To see it in the warm southern dusk is to carry away an impression of fairyland which never fades. But Mortoft's interests are centred round the very good combs and other things, turned in wood, which were sold there, so prettily wrought that their like was not to be found elsewhere (p. 23).

Narbonne was reached on 1 November, by roads and mountain-paths lined with corn, vines, olives, rosemary

and sweet herbs It was full of "Markes and monuments of Antiquity" (p 23), but the air was not very healthful, and the travellers left immediately for Montpellier; they could not stop even to see the wonderful picture of Lazarus being raised from the dead, in the church of St. Just. At Montpellier the streets were straight, the houses very handsome, and the gentlewomen of the town extremely attractive. Mortoft and his companions visited the churches and the physic garden, and tested the famous muscatel wines which far exceeded even the best sack which England could show (p 26). Nîmes was the next halting-place, and here the amphitheatre was packed with houses so that from above it looked like a village in itself, a condition of things which continued until the early 19th century, but no mention is made of the Maison Carée, the Gates, or the Tour Magne. The Pont du Gard may be said to have left the travellers gasping. At Avignon they found a great company of Jews in red hats, but the famous bridge was broken, never to be repaired. The last traveller to see it intact was probably Thomas Platter, who crossed it in 1596. A stop was made at Orange to see the Roman remains, but what really attracted the travellers here was a wonderful picture, in the cellar of a weaver, showing a cat holding a mouse in its mouth, probably some fragment of mosaic work (p. 31). As we shall see later, Mortoft was always a little wayward in his attitude towards classical antiquities. At Arles the newly-discovered Venus, now in the Louvre, was viewed and admired, for had not the city Fathers just refused 20,000 francs for it? Aix was reached on 16 November, and Marseilles on the following day.

Here, finding no ship to carry them to Italy, the travellers embarked upon a very unusual and perilous undertaking. They decided to follow the coast road to Genoa, and their experiences afford additional and poignant

evidence of the miseries of 17th century travel. They toiled painfully along the Riviera as far as Nice, by mountain roads which could not have been worse, lying by night at mountain villages, and departing the next day to repeat the miserable experience of the day before. At Nice the horses gave out, and the travellers were forced to hire mules. They had been warned of what was before them, but now the worst road in France gave way to the worst road in Europe (p 37). From an earlier traveller¹ we know that there was not a palm's breadth of good going anywhere. nothing but the most precipitous mountains. Up and down rocks, for thirty leagues together, by paths which would make the stoutest men tremble, the travellers toiled slowly on to Mentone. Here the dress of the women, who wore "great Rowles about their middle and other strange Attire" (p 37), warned the travellers that they were leaving French territory, but there was no improvement in the going. The dangerous ways carried them to unfrequented parts, where there was no accommodation for strangers, where lodging was bad, food worse, and sleep impossible. The weather now became foul, and not even the profusion of oranges and lemons, which the travellers were free to gather as they passed, provided any alleviation of their lot. From Savona the road was little better than a confusion of twisted paths beset by precipices; the surface was so bad that an earlier traveller tells us that his beasts had to be shod four or five times in a space of fifteen miles.² It must have been a weary company that rode into Genoa on 2 December (p. 40), after ten days of continuous hardship and peril.

Genoa in 1658 was still a most attractive place in spite of the narrowness of the streets, where space was so restricted that, according to Heine, the inhabitants

¹ See p. 37, note ².

² See p. 39, note ³.

could not sit in the streets, as they ardently desired to do, but had to dispose themselves well inside their own doors to avoid rubbing knees with their neighbours across the way. It was a prosperous place, drawing large revenues from its position as the financial agent of Spain, and the stately palaces and buildings, and the beauty of its situation, never failed to impress strangers. Indeed, Lassels, another traveller of the period, who is as free from sentimentality as most of his kind, remarks of one aspect of the city, that it looked like a great enchanted castle, so that he dared scarce bless himself lest the beautiful vision should presently vanish away. Some twenty years later the place was bombarded by the French, on the flimsy pretext that an armed Dutch vessel had taken refuge there. Two thousand, out of six thousand, palaces and houses were struck; half of these were entirely destroyed, and it is but a step to the next phase, amusingly described by Dickens, who found the city shockingly neglected and the houses undrained and foul, emitting a peculiar fragrance, like the smell of very bad cheese kept in very hot blankets. A year or two prior to the date of Mortoft's visit, Genoa had been devastated by plague, the evidences of which were still to be seen in the crosses set up in the streets to mark the plague-pits (p. 41). Mortoft notes the superb palaces, the worst of which might have been fit to entertain any great prince. He visited the palace of the Doria family, with its gardens, waterworks and aviary, where the birds seemed to inhabit a field rather than a cage. He remarks upon the jealous and revengeful nature of the people, who were so addicted to street-stabbing that, notwithstanding the prohibition against weapons, the gentry of the city always carried hidden daggers, in readiness to dispatch an enemy or avenge an insult (p. 41). In the church of S. Ambrogio he heard "the most ravishingst musicke that wee ever heard in our lives" (p. 44), and has some interesting remarks on

the system of government, and on the business of the port.

After a stay of five days Mortoft and his companions passed on to Lucca, striking slightly inland, and crossing a spur of the Ligurian mountains, where the roads were once more almost impassable. The mountains were covered with snow, and the travellers were in constant danger, being forced to climb and slide their horses up and down the snow-covered tracks. The mountain people, like devils rather than men, with their daggers at their sides, crowded round swearing and staring, the travellers' terrors being greatly increased by the stories told them of robberies committed on the very road they were traversing. Enough gold and silver, it was said, had been taken from travellers in a few years to load half a dozen mules (p. 45). One night was spent at Borghetto, "a little rotten Village in the mountains," where they had wretched accommodation, but at Lucca their spirits revived again. It was the "Prettiest contrivedst" city (p. 46), neat and well fortified, with wonderful ramparts on which two coaches could pass abreast. Leghorn was a fine and handsome town, full of English and other merchants, but much defamed by the ill lives of the inhabitants, the descendants of the rabble with which the Medici had stocked the place in the preceding century.

At Pisa they found certain English merchants from Leghorn hunting in the Grand Duke's Park, and, hiring horses, they joined the sport. They then inspected the great tower "which is built sideways, and looking on it one would imagine it to be falling every moment, and yet built very strong" (p. 49), and the next day they proceeded to Florence. The city had dwindled from its ancient greatness into a kind of intellectual backwater, but the well-paved streets and the general beauty of the city were pleasing beyond anything else the travellers had seen, and Mortoft's delight is unbounded. "Noe place in the

world," he writes, "could invite any stranger more to take up his residence in any place then in this City" (p. 51). Visits were paid to the Duke's Gallery and Palace; his famous closet of rarities was inspected, together with his menagerie, in which the beasts were housed together in a deep, walled court.

The Princes' Chapel in the Church of S. Lorenzo, with its walls of jasper and lapis lazuli and pearls, was almost beyond Mortoft's powers of description, and his spelling becomes worse than ever. The chapel was then, and still is, unfinished, but, even so, it took "preheminance of all the rare Buildings In the world" (p. 54), and when, at Rome, Mortoft tells us later that the chapels in S. Maria Maggiore might compare with any in Europe, he is careful to except that of the Grand Duke at Florence "of which there is noe comparison" (p. 86). It probably impressed him more than anything else in his travels, but tastes differ, and Baedeker dismisses it in a few lines. On the other hand, Mortoft is quite modern in his appreciation of the Pinturicchio frescoes in the Duomo at Siena and the wonderful mosaic pavements. Christmas Day was marred by a dispute with the Vetturino over a horse. A halt was made at Montefiascone to see the tomb of the bibulous prelate who lies buried in the Cathedral, but Rome was calling, and, passing on by way of Viterbo, the travellers rode into the city on 27 December, 1658 (p. 61).

Rome at this time was no longer a city of the Renaissance, but a modern city, the product of Sixtus V, of Paul V, and of Bernini and his friends and rivals. It was becoming thickly populated, in spite of the ravages of the plague which had attacked the city in 1656, and was one of the most brilliant intellectual resorts in Europe—a world wonderfully complete within itself—and the travellers were enchanted by it. Opinions differed a good deal as to the time required by the average tourist if he

wished to see Rome. Raymond, who wrote a book¹ for the instruction of travellers, thinks a year scarcely enough if one would make it his study to understand Rome, but he states that a fortnight would suffice if the visitor walked from morning till night. Warcup's four-day itinerary² would probably have killed even a 17th century traveller, if it had been seriously attempted. In fact, three months was a good average stay, and this was the time spent there by Mortoft and his companions. They appear to have had excellent guides, for the information written down is on the whole accurate and direct. Whether the sightseers adopted the advice given in some of the books and provided themselves also with a mariners' compass, a quadrant, a watch, prospective glasses of several sizes, a cane divided into measures, and rolls of pack-thread, well twined and waxed and knotted into feet, to enable them to measure buildings,³ we do not know; but it conjures up an alluring picture. In any case the diary is very full, and gives one an excellent idea of what the 17th century traveller thought it incumbent on him to see. After a glimpse of the Pope at Mass, the company set off to inspect the Queen of Sweden, who was a far greater attraction than any monument or ruin, although Bishop Burnet is ungallant enough to say that she was herself fast becoming one of the antiquities. Everybody made a point of seeing her, but the different descriptions left by travellers are as varied and wayward as the lady herself. Edward Browne describes her as "low and fat and a little crooked," and the drawing of her prefixed to Bargrave's *College of Cardinals* certainly presents the quaintest figure, but Mortoft says she was of a majestic countenance and also somewhat handsome (p. 63), a description which we cannot but think owed something to the traveller's inborn

¹ *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 72.

² E. Warcup, *Italy*, 1660, p. 174.

³ See, e.g., Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, 1714, vol. I, pt. II, p. 535.

courtesy, and more to his imagination. Later he describes her costume with the enthusiasm of a mantua-maker. She wore " a Velvet Jerkin with a Red sattin petticoate layd all about with white lace, and little buttons in every seame where the lace went, with a Blacke scarfe about her necke, and a Blacke hood, with a great lace on it, upon her head " (p 97)

A visit was at once paid to the Capitol, but the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was inspected first and duly admired. This was, in fact, a great day for statues. Every one in the Capitoline collection was examined with the greatest care, and some were measured, including the feet which had belonged to a huge colossus standing in the courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators, the toe of which was bigger than Mortoft's middle (p 64). All are described in detail, and one can almost see the traveller, with his note-book in his hand, anxiously writing down what the guide told him. The Forum was visited next. It was then used as a cattle market, and its ruins were half-buried in rubbish. Mortoft has not much to say about it, for his interest in antiquities was not very strong. His weaknesses were churches, music and relics, and, in a restricted sense, pictures and statues. It was not the Temple of Saturn which attracted his notice so much as the church into which it had been converted. Over one of the altars was an inscription which stated that beneath it were buried the bodies of the three children, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego; without doubt, says Mortoft, a most grievous lie (p. 70). In the church of S. Maria Nuova the travellers were shown the stone upon which St. Peter knelt when he was praying against Simon Magus; the vehemency of his prayers being such that the stone melted under his knees, and Simon Magus fell from the air and was dashed to pieces on a flint. The knee-marks on the stone could still be seen, and Mortoft, greatly wondering, felt the large,

round holes with his hands (p. 73). Ruins and monuments now tend to give way almost entirely to matters associated more closely with the interests of the average 17th century tourist. Efforts were made to see the Pope, and on 6 January the travellers were present in the Vatican chapel when Alexander VII, "a very handsome old man," was carried in in great state, in a chair borne by eight men, and wearing a triple crown of gold on his head. The Seven Churches are described, the magnificence of the decorations and the number of the relics leaving the travellers absolutely aghast. Mortoft, however, never forgets that he is a staunch Protestant and, although keenly interested in what he saw, he preserves throughout an attitude of scepticism which is not always polite, but which comes out again and again. Thus in St. John Lateran he was told that when the heads of SS. Peter and Paul were exhibited, there was a general pardon for 3,000 years for all who were present, and for foreigners who had come from afar, a pardon for 12,000 years, and remission of three parts of their sins. "If so," he says, "who would not come out of there Countreyes to obtaine so many yeares out of Purgatory?—but basta." In the church of S. Sebastiano, when shown the stone on which Our Saviour's foot rested when he appeared to St. Peter, in which the impress of the foot was still to be seen, he is of opinion that it must be taken as "a narration of the Papists, who wil not spare sometymes to tel bouncers, especially if it may advance their Romish Church" (p. 95). He climbed the Holy Stairs on his knees, and "found it a great trouble in regard the great dent that were in every one of these staires, which are worne away by continuall frequentation, and so having wearied my self and suffered a little trouble for my curiosity" (p. 90). One evening he saw a comedy which was acted behind the Farnese Palace, which concerned Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex (p. 101), and at the Roman College,

such a rare comedy was acted that he never looked to see the like again. The travellers had to wait an hour and a-half in order to see the play, which was performed in Latin by the scholars, and which had for its subject an English king in the times of the Danes and Saxons, and told how he and his sons were converted to Christianity. There was singing between the acts, and everyone went away very well contented, although kept till twelve o'clock at night (p. 137). A visit was paid to the Ghetto, where the Jews were shut up behind walls and gates (p. 116). On Candlemas Day, at a service in the Pope's chapel, Mortoft, obtaining admission by some means or another, kissed the Pope's foot, and received a candle from his own hands, as did his fellow-travellers, and thereupon they all went away, once more very well contented (p. 118).

On 15 February the Carnival commenced. All the great and rich were in the streets, and the fun was fast and furious. There were races in which Jews and animals took part, the Jews being forced to run every day during the Carnival for the amusement of the spectators, but Mortoft, to his credit, does not seem to have taken much interest in this degrading spectacle, which was not discontinued until 1668. For nine days there was a continual round of entertainments, and on 25 February, the last day of the Carnival, after a firework display, "every great Person, or any that were able enough, committed all the debauchery which they could invent, and stuffed there paunches full of flesh, in regard they could eat noe more flesh after this night for 45 dayes together, unlesse they had license from the Doctors of Phisicke, and those Licenses signed by A general of An order" (p. 141).

On 2 March the travellers heard a friar preach "that was even like a mad man, he did so stomp and stare about" (p. 143), and being in no humour for self-denial

they procured a licence to eat flesh, and continued their sight-seeing without interruption. They visited the Vatican, the English College, and the Villa Borghese, the gardens of which were beautifully contrived and planted, and abounded with fruit and fountains and grottoes. The waterworks and the various appliances, so popular at this time, for soaking unwary visitors, caused much amusement, Mortoft being forced to creep up close to a wall to hinder the pleasure that Mr. Hare took in wetting him (p. 155).

Mortoft seems to have had a great weakness for artificial waterworks, and those at the Belvedere Gardens and the palace of Prince Ludovisi at Frascati, especially delighted him (p. 164). He describes the marvellous fountains of water as sometimes cracking as if they were thunder, and in one case snow and hail were seen issuing out of the water. One grotto contained a pair of organs, upon which the water played and kept time, while Apollo and the Nine Muses made music upon all kinds of instruments. In the centre of a hall in the Belvedere Gardens was a ball spinning in the air by virtue of a wind conveyed secretly to a hole beneath it, and in the grottoes were singing birds, moving and chirping by the force of the water, with divers other pageants and surprising inventions. While at Frascati a visit was paid to Prince Borghese's palace at Mondragone, where further marvellous waterworks were to be seen. The beautiful palace and grounds described by other travellers also impressed Mortoft. Indeed, says he, "if anything in the world may be counted a Heaven on Earth, this place may be it" (p. 166). On 25 March the Pope attended with a cavalcade at the Church of the Minerva, where purses were distributed to a great company of young wenches as marriage portions or prior to their taking vows, and on 27 March the travellers, for some unexplained reason, left Rome in a great hurry.

We may be sure that Mortoft departed with something like real regret, not because the city was Rome, but because it was a busy place full of odd sights and beautiful music, and alive with movement. His outlook was naturally not modern. He was untrained in matters of art, and did not always appreciate the things which interest us to-day. He could not resist anything rich and showy or worth vast sums of money, but he had also a very pretty delight in painting generally, and he was willing to accept on authority what did not please him. The Transfiguration, "made by one Raphael," then in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, was "one of the most liveliest pictures that ever was done by any mortal Person, and wherein the Lymner has shewed soe much Art that more cannot be expressed" (p. 106), and The Deliverance of St. Peter was "a most rare and admirable piece" (p. 157). The Caracci frescoes in the Farnese Palace pleased him mightily (p. 149), as did also a painting by Alberti in the Vatican, showing the artist naked "with his Mrs. in his armes" (pp. 155-156). A Perugino Madonna in the Villa Ludovisi moved him to write: "The excellency of the man is able to sett forth the rarenesse of this piece, which is such that it may compare with any piece of painting in the world, and yet not be excelled" (p. 127), while the picture at the Villa Borghese, of soldiers showing the bloody robe of Pompey to Julia, so completely captured him that he was in no haste to rise from beholding it, even when the custodian released him from the trick chair in which he was imprisoned (p. 154). Statues, whether old or new, always interested him, and his tastes were almost modern. He examines and describes a vast number with an excited curiosity which never flags. He has always a good word for Bernini. Algardi's great bas-relief in St. Peter's, showing Atilla threatened by St. Leo, was calculated to draw the astonishment of all who looked upon it; the expression of fear on the countenance

of the invader could not be bettered (p. 83). The Medici Venus, the Grinder, the Wrestlers, are all admired, and Niobe and her children would bring "grief and sorrow into any person's hart that lookes upon them" (pp. 119-121). The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius wanted nothing but life to make it perfect (p. 64). At the Villa Ludovisi the visitor's attention is a good deal distracted by the remains of a man turned to stone (p. 127), and by a marvellous jewelled bed, said to be worth 100,000 crowns (p. 125), but he pulls himself up, and the Dying Gaul is one of "the rarest pieces that was ever made by the hand of man" (p. 127). The Hermaphrodite, now in the Uffizi at Florence, is the prettiest thing, and a statue of a satyr in the gardens made him laugh aloud (p. 128). Here, too, was a drunken Bacchus, so realistically done, with puffed-up cheeks and heavy eyes "that the very looking upon it would make a man a detester of this sottish vice." The Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoon are "noe lesse exquisite then Ancient, preserved by the Popes as things worthy there esteeme" (p. 130). The Farnese Hercules was the wonder of the world, and the Bull left him absolutely amazed (p. 147). Even if there is here no genuine antiquarian interest, there is appreciation and judgment. But these qualities, as we have already indicated, are less apparent with classical architecture itself. Mortoft transcribes (incorrectly) several Latin inscriptions, and was learned enough to associate the antiquities with the events and figures of the past. The size of the Colosseum impressed him, but he soon passes it by with the remark that "tyme hath at present ruind a great part of it" (p. 75). The other ruins and monuments were all visited, and Mortoft is careful to write down what he was told about them, and to admire what he was told to admire; of his own personal emotions we learn very little, and he always escapes with apparent relief into the world of movement again. Curiously enough, he does not seem to

have visited the Catacombs (except those of Cyriaca), which were then beginning to be accessible, but the travellers may possibly have been deterred by the story of the French bishop, who adventured so far underground that he was never heard of again.

Mortoft's love of music was indeed a passion. At Genoa and Lucca he is thrilled by the singing in the churches, and at Rome his delight knows no bounds. "I never looke" he says, after hearing a concert in the Chiesa Nuova, "to heare better as long as I am upon the Earth, it being enough to make a man out of his senses to heare those most ravishing voyces that excels all others" (p. 144). And again: "such sweete Musicke, that a man could not thinke his paines il spent, if he should come two thousand mile, if he were sure to be recompensed with nothing else, but to heare such most melodious voyces" (p. 119). At the Queen of Sweden's Palace he is concerned because the melodies could not be heard through the noise and talking (p. 97). And upon leaving Rome it is the sweet and ravishing music which he leaves behind which fills him with regrets—music which without doubt is "of more power to bring satisfaction to a man's soule than any other thing in the world beside, but here I was forced to give a farwel to all this more than Earthly musicke, in regard of our suddaine departure out of Rome, which will be before Any set day for that purpose can come about" (p. 168).

The travellers now set out for Venice, and four days later they arrived at Loreto, which was packed with pilgrims, where they examined the Casa Santa, with its wonderful treasury. The next day they rode on to Ancona, a large and prosperous city, but ill paved and very wearisome to walk about in. At Pesaro they partook of the famous figs, and found report no liar (p. 174). Rimini is dismissed in a few lines: the Rubicon is crossed without mention, and, on 5 April, the travellers reached Bologna

which greatly delighted them. The sausages, particularly, were excellent. A visit was paid to the convent of S. Michele in Bosco where the Caracci paintings (of which little now remains) were admired, but nothing is said of the lovely view from the convent buildings, which other travellers did not fail to notice. Half a day was spent at Ferrara, whence Mortoft and his companions proceeded by water, passing along a series of channels to the Po, and then to Venice. They arrived for the Easter celebrations, and visited St. Mark's, the Treasury, and the Arsenal, but the descriptions are not very inspiring. The time was mostly spent in processions, celebrations and illuminations, 70,000 ducats, it was said, having been spent in candles alone. Most of us would give a good deal to have seen Venice, even in the days of its decline, but Mortoft remarks merely that it might well "astonish any Stranger at first sight, to see how the water runs all about it, being built, as it were, in the midst of the sea" (p. 181).

On 21 April the journey northwards was commenced. From Padua the travellers reached Vicenza and Verona. They were evidently hurried, for there was no time to see sights or write up the diary. At Brescia their peace of mind was somewhat disturbed by the fierce demeanours of the inhabitants, and by a ^{later} parade of swords and guns; and six ^{later} travelling along rocky mountain paths, by a route which ways and ^{to} follow, Mortoft and his companions ^{and} Coire and passed on to Zurich, where they arrived on 9 May, 1659. Here the diary breaks off as abruptly as it commences. It was probably never completed.

I take leave of the travellers with real regret. Francis Mortoft has been my constant companion for many months. I picture him, as I have said, as a young man, just of full age, a little fat and short of breath, perhaps, for he complains several times of weariness when climbing stairs

and hills, but a very good fellow. His likes and dislikes were entirely human. He tried honestly to record his impressions, and to make his diary interesting for somebody who was awaiting his return in England. The little volume reached these shores in safety, but the writer vanishes from our ken as completely as if he had been blown off the famous (but dangerous) bridge at Rapperschwyll, and had perished in the waters of the lake.

Mortoft does not say much about the actual circumstances of his journeyings, but he and his companions doubtless hired horses at different points, and made use of the excellent system of relays then in operation. Practically all their travelling was done on beasts. They even elected to ride along the banks of the Loire instead of using the excellent river service, which shows a detachment of mind not easy to be understood. Possibly the season of the year (for they did not leave Paris until mid-September) may have had something to do with it. In any event, the Vetturino, or Messenger, was a very useful person. He was a kind of public courier who provided the horses, assumed responsibility for the journey at a fixed rate, and saved travellers from the clutches of unscrupulous innkeepers. All the traveller had to do was to pay his money and to rise when called. It was natural, under these circumstances, and apart from the actual condition of the highways, that travel should tend to confine itself to certain specified routes. The Messenger made his bargains with the innkeepers for the entertainment of his charges and for the care of the horses, and if well served there was no inducement to go elsewhere. But there was, of course, another side to the picture. Many travellers have hard things to say about the Messengers. The President de Brosses called them "abominables canailles, race la plus méchante qui ait

jamais rampé sur la surface de la terre," and Mortoft met a rogue at Montefiascone, but there can be no doubt that the system had many advantages. It would have been interesting, too, if Mortoft had told us something about the inns he visited, for he must have had many and varied experiences. But it is remarkable to note how clearly the 17th century travellers tended to divide themselves into groups. The traveller who is mainly concerned about his food and lodging rarely thinks of anything else. His grumbles fill whole pages. The traveller who went abroad to see sights, and to interest and instruct himself, is filled with the object of his journey and passes over his discomforts in silence. We may be thankful, on the whole, that Mortoft did not belong to the class of grumblers, for their records make weary reading.



FRANCIS MORTOFT: HIS BOOK.

Septemb. the 1st, 1658.

Sept — 1658

Mr. George Stanley and my selfe departed from Calais 1 and went that day to Bolongne, some 7 leagues distant from Calais, and the same day that Cardinal Mazarine departed from thence for Paris after the surrender up off by the Spaniards to the French ¹ From thence wee went the next day to Monstruel, ² 7 leagues from Bolongne, ² which is a very strong Towne with a Cittadel, Governor and Garrison.

Calais

Boulogne

Montreuil-sur-mer

From thence we passed to Abbeville, ³ which is 14 leagues 3 from Monstreuil, and seated in a watry Countrey, having a River running quite through the Towne. Here are excellent good Pistols made heere, which brings much profit to those that make them.

Abbeville

¹ Mortoft was travelling at the close of the war between France and Spain, which was a sequel to the Fronde. In March, 1657, it was agreed that the English and French should undertake operations, and the campaign of 1658 put an end to the Spanish resistance. Don Juan of Austria was defeated at the Battle of the Dunes in June, and the other strongholds were recovered in rapid succession. *Camb. Mod. History*, vol. iv. p. 619, D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 224.

² Montreuil-sur-mer Mundy, *Travels* (1620) vol. i. p. 132 (Hakluyt Society), 1907, describes it as "a small Cittie with three walls." Symonds, whose notebooks (1648) are printed in App. G to Mundy's *Travels*, p. 219, calls it "a strong Garrison upon the summitte of a Hill." Compare *Journal of Richard Ferrier* (1687), Camden Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 19.

³ Compare Mundy, *Travels*, p. 132; Symonds, p. 220. Ferrier, p. 19, mentions the pistols "which are there made and sold in great quantities, it being a place for that sort of work the most remarkable in France."

1658—Sept. 4
Dieppe

From Abbeville wee passed the next day to Diep,¹ 14 leagues distant, and is seated betweene two mountaines. The Inhabitants are Renowned for their Navigations In farr Countryes. They make heere also very pretty thinges in bone and Ivory.

Rouen

5 From Diep wee went to Rouen, which is also 14 leagues distant. It is the Capitoll Citty of Normandy and abounds in Paires and Apples, of which the Common people make Cidar, which brings much profit to the Inhabitants. Fish is in great Abundance in this Countrye because of the sea and a great Number of Rivers, which are in that Provençe. There is a Bridge of Wood in this Citty which is esteemed for the fairest and chiefest in France, being made by such Art that it rises and falls with the Tide.²

The Church of Notre Dame³ is the principal Church in this Citty, wherein is the greatest Bell in France, being 13 feete high, and weighing 40,000 pound, and was given to the Church by A Cardinall of Amboise. There wee saw many Priest Garments, all laid about with Jewels and Pearles, one whereof is esteemed to be worth 50,000 Crownes, and A Mitre which the Bishop weares on great

¹ Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 39: "It abounds with workmen who make and sell curiosities of ivory and tortoise-shells, and indeed whatever the East Indies afford of cabinets, porcelain, natural and exotic rarities are here to be had, with abundant choice" Also Mundy, *Travels*, p. 138, n. 4.

² An anonymous traveller (1647), whose diary is in my possession, writes: "The bridge over y^e Seine hath bene y^e fairest in france, but at present a great part of it broken downe Yet ther is a very fine bridge borne up by boates" Compare Heylyn, *The Voyage of France*, 1673, p. 26; Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 38. Merian's view of 1620 shows the stone bridge with two piers missing, but not the bridge of boats. There is a short account of Rouen (1619) in Howell's *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, 1892, vol. i. p. 41; see also E. Rodocanachi, *Aventures d'un grand Seigneur Italien à travers l'Europe*, 1606, Paris, 1899, pp. 156 ff.

³ The cathedral of Notre-Dame was begun in 1201 or 1202 and not completed until 1530. The great bell was known as George d'Amboise, having been cast by order of George Cardinal d'Amboise. See Mundy, *Travels*, p. xix. n. 3. It was the biggest bell outside Russia and was an object of great affection on the part of the citizens. It is said to have cracked with grief in 1786 at being called upon to ring for Louis XVI. It was melted down during the Revolution. T. A. Cook, *Rouen* (Med. Town Series), p. 129.

Feast dayes, that is so full of al manner of precious stones that it is esteemed inestimable, and many other things which are worthy to be taken notice off by All strangers. The Protestants, of which the Towne is pretty full, have their Church some 3 mile out of the Citty, which is very large and full of people, so that sometymes there are esteemed to be above 1,400 communicants¹

From Rouen, having stayed 3 dayes, wee went towards 8 Paris,² which is some 28 leagues, and arrived there the 9th at night This Citty is built in forme of A Crosse, 9

¹ Compare Heylyn, *Voyage of France*, 1673, p. 33. "The religion in this Town is indifferently poysed, as it is also in most places of this Province. The Protestants are thought to be as great a party as the other, but far weaker, the Duke of Longueville having disarmed them in the beginning of the last troubles" Also *Travels*, by Sir John Reresby, Dryden House Mem., 1904, p. 22 "The Calvinists are allowed the public practice of their devotion and have their temple (as they call it) or church, but not within the walls of the town, no more than elsewhere in France" (he is writing of Blois) Under the Edict of Nantes (1598) the French protestants, who had gradually built up a state within a state, with their own troops and organization, were permitted to exercise their religion in those places where it had been exercised previously. They were disarmed in 1629, but until the revocation of the Edict (1685) they formed a peaceable and industrious religious community. D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, pp. 58, 194, 303, 305

² Paris at this time did not appeal much to English travellers, who say a good many hard things about the condition of its streets. An unpleasant account (1620) will be found in Howell's *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, I pp. 42 ff. Nor was Ferner (1687) much better pleased. "There is severall indifferent good streets, which would show a great deal better were they adorned as those in London with handsome shops, but there you shall scarcely see any but seems rather to be a cobbler's hole than of any trade, and pitiful signs to set them forth" *Journal* in Camden Miscellany, vol. ix p. 24. Compare John Finch (1651) in *Finch and Baines*, by A. Malloch, Cambridge, 1917, p. 6 "The streets are more dirty than London, yet one may walke cleaner because the streets are better paved. . . and though Paris is situated so low, and all the filth of the houses emptied into the streets, yet the plague is very rarely amongst them." Coryat (1608) says "Many of the streetes are the dirtiest, and so consequently the most stinking of all that ever I saw in any cite in my life" *Crudities* (reprint 1905) I p. 171. Heylyn, in his extravagant way, writes: "The nastiest Lane in London is Frankincense and juniper to the sweetest Street in this City," and, applying to it Fynes Moryson's remark about Prague, he adds that if the stink of the streets did not keep an enemy away there was no assurance to be looked for from the walls. *Voyage of France*, 1673, pp. 91, 92. It is a relief to turn to Evelyn, who describes Paris as "one of the most gallant cities in the world," yet even he is constrained to add that some places were very dirty, and smelling as if sulphur were mingled with the mud. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 29. This is probably the truth of the

having the River Seine on the one side, and Walls and ditches on the other. It hath 7 gates belonging to it, viz., St Martin; St Dennis; St Antony; Du Temple, Montmartre; St Honore; And the Porte Neuve. The Pont Neuf,¹ which is between the Louvre and the Convent of Augustins, was begun to be built under Henry the 3rd, 1578. It contains 12 Arches. At the 12th Arch of the Bridge, on the side of the Louvre, is erected a Pomp which mounts the water from the River and represents the Samaritane pouring out water to Christ; upon it is a Clocke which marks the houres in the forenoone in ascending, and after dinner in discending. In the middle of the Arch is A statue of Brasse, representing Henry the great on horse backe² On the 4 sides of the Marble Pillar,

matter. Paris possessed some foul streets, but it was by no means evil-smelling as a whole. The city had withstood a siege of 2 months, during the first Fronde, some nine years before the date of Mortoft's visit. See D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 212

¹ The bridge was not quite finished when Coryat was there in 1608, *Crudities* (reprint, 1905), p. 171. The famous Chateau d'Eau, or La Samaritaine, was erected in 1608 and rebuilt in 1712 to pump water from the Seine and distribute it to the Louvre and the Tuileries palaces. T. Okey, *Paris* (Med. Town Series), p. 210. La Samaritaine was a *maison royale*. It possessed a governor, whose principal work was to look after the clock and the bells. It was demolished in 1813. A. Franklin, *Paris et les Parisiens au 16^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1921, p. 63. The present baths of La Samaritaine mark the site. Compare Mundy, *Travels*, pp. 125-126 and notes; *Journal du voyage de deux jeunes Hollandais à Paris*, 1656-1658, ed. by L. Marillier, Paris, 1899, pp. 47-48. Ed. Browne, *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, I. p. 59. "A delicat fountain made in the shape of a cockle-shell, which allwayes runs over." The Pont Neuf was one of the busiest centres of Parisian life in the 17th century. Symonds, 1649 (Mundy, *Travels*, p. 227), saw "a Mountebank and his boy on Sunday hanging his Crocodile Skins and selling his medicaments with his quack confidence to the people under the brassen Horse of Henry IV"; and Ed. Browne's experience is worth recording. "I went over the Pont Neuf where I met with one carrying another man layd over his right Shoulder, his head dangling one way and his legs another. The Gippet was scarce taken downe where this man had been hang'd for robbery, but one had his hand just by mee well in another's pocket, and had drawn his handkercher halfe out when as the man perceived him." *Journal of a Visit to Paris*, 1664, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes, in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. LVI., 1923; reprint, 1923, pp. 22-23.

² This statue, designed by Giovanni da Bologna, and presented by Cosimo II of Tuscany, was set up in 1614. It was melted down for cannon during the Revolution. In 1818 another statue of Henri IV was erected where it now stands.

on which the Statue is placed, are graven the Principal victoryes of that King.

There are about 69 Churches in Paris, but the Principall is that of Notre Dame;¹ the length of which Church is 174 paces, the largenesse 60, and the high 100. It contains 45 chappels and 11 gates. This Church is the first in dignity of al the Kingdome of France.

The Palais² was built under Philip the faire, which is al furnished with shopes of all sortes of comodotydes both above and below.

The Louvre³ is the Lodging ordinarily of the King when he is At Paris. The building is one of the stateliest of France, and the King's Lodgings as Rich as any mortal man can be ambitious off. In the Chamber where he lyes is a place where his bed stands, which is al raild in with great rayles of massy silver. The Chamber and Cabinet of the Queene's are as stately and rich as that of the King's, and replenished with very fine and rare Pictures. There is a very fine garden belonging to it,

¹ For other 17th century descriptions of Notre Dame, see Mundy, *Travels*, p. 130 and notes; add Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 30, and *Journal de deux jeunes Hollandais*, ed Marillier, Paris, 1899, p. 43.

² The Palais de la Cité, replaced by the present Palais de Justice. In 1618 the building had been ravaged by fire. In the interior the only mediæval remains are the Sainte Chapelle, the Conciergerie and some halls and kitchens of the 13th century. The Grand' Salle was built originally by Philip the Fair and rebuilt after the fires in 1618 and 1871. It was used as a walk for lawyers. "it serveth the French men in that manner as our Westminster hall doth us English men" Coryat (reprint) i. p. 172. Moryson (reprint, i. p. 415) states that a dried crocodile, or a serpent like a crocodile, was hung up there. In the Palais was also an exchange for merchants. See Marcel Poète, *Une Vie de Cité, Paris de sa Naissance à nos Jours*, Paris, 1924, vol. i. p. 293.

³ On the Louvre, see Mundy, *Travels*, pp. 126-127; Symond's *Note-Books* in Mundy, pp. 224-225. There is a long description in Locatelli, *Voyage de France*, 1664-1665, ed A. Vautier, Paris, 1905, pp. 152 ff; *Voyage de deux Hollandais* (1657), ed Marillier, Paris, 1899, p. 84. Mortoft saw the Louvre after the completion of the works undertaken by Louis XIII, but before the extensive alterations and rebuilding under Louis XIV. The gallery by the river was the Grande Gallerie, or Gallerie du Bord de l'Eau, built by Catherine de Médicis, which was to connect the Louvre with the old Palais des Tuileries. A second storey was added under Henri IV.

1658—Sept. 9

at one side whereof is a high Alley al paved with stone, and set al along with Orange trees, there is also a very faire gallery on another part of the house furnished with the Pictures of many of the Kings and Queenes of France. Out of this Gallery there is another, which goes al along the River, and is soe long that the End of it can be very hardly discovered.

The Pallace Royal¹ is a very fine and stately building. Here the Queen of England hath her lodgings in one part of it. There is a very large and fine garden adjoyning to it, the walkes whereof are made Round about the Garden for the Play at Mall, which is a game much used in France.

Rueil

While wee were at Paris wee went to Rovel,² some 3 Leagues from the Citty, and was built by the late Cardinal

¹ Erected by Richelieu, 1629-1634, and known as Palais Cardinal until 1643. Richelieu died in 1642 and bequeathed it to Louis XIII. Henrietta Maria (1609-1669), queen-consort of Charles I, lived here during her exile. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 42; *Voyage de deux jeunes Hollandais*, ed. Manillier, Paris, 1899, p. 79, where the following unpleasant particulars appear concerning the English occupants: "La reine d'Angleterre y demeure avec tout son train, qui a fait un fort grand degast en la dorure et au relief de toutes les chambres et de cette fameuse gallerie où les grands hommes de la France et leurs belles actions sont représentés avec leurs devises et leur hieroglyphiques, c'est une pitié de voir que, pour avoir quelques sols, ils ayent enlevé des pieces qui ont cousté de bonnes sommes."

² Rueil, a small town $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Paris, which enjoyed considerable importance under Louis XIII owing to the splendid château, now demolished, which Richelieu possessed there. The anonymous traveller of 1647, whose diary I possess, says "The waterworks are very brave, the Cascades especially, there is a Dragon vomits out water at least 20 yards round about. There is a perspective so artificially made that the Birds fly against it and so kill themselves, thinking it to be the aire; as also another rare prospect unto Jerusalem thro' an Artificiall mount Calvary," p. 13. Ed. Browne, 1664, adds some details: "As for the water-works, they goe beyond all I have yet seen; the most remarkable are these—a dragon which spits as high as these tall clmes, and guided by a waggish boyes hand, wets people either neere or at a vast distance." He also notes "two roguish Monkeyes that spued most intolerably." *Journal*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 1923, reprint from *St. Bartholomew Hospital Reports*, vol. LVI. pp. 19-20. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 34. There are six views of the gardens by Gabriel Perelle after Israel Silvestre. When Robert, Lord Willoughby, was there in 1647, a friar was the contriver and overseer of the waterworks. *Hist. MSS. Comm., Ancaster MSS.*, 1907, p. 419.

Richelieu, where wee saw a very fine Invention of water workes which is so rare that it drawes many persons [to] visit it, and, since that Cardinal's death, Cardinal Mazarine hath now bestowed it upon One of his Nieces.

About 4 leagues from Paris wee saw one of the neatest and prettiest houses for invention that is in al France, and was built by a Trades man of Paris,¹ he having, as it is reported, bestowed above 100,000 pound upon the building of it. And, indeed, for the compleatnesse and exactnesse of the building, it may be fitt to entertaine the Greatest prince in Christendome; there is also a very great garden and Parke adjoining to it.

Essones

Wee departed from Paris towards Orleans,² which is 17 some 32 little leagues from Paris, and arrived there the 19th of September. The faire and agreable situation of 19 Orleans the Citty, the good fruits and principally the Wines, the Walkes, the courtesye of the Inhabitants, and the opinion which is taken, that the French tongue is spoken

¹ This must be the house of M Juselin, or Essling, at Essones, on the way to Fontainebleau, which attracted many travellers at this time. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 38; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1670, i. p. 25. Lassels also described the house in his *Diary of the Journey of Lady Catherine Whetenall*, British Museum, Add. MS. 4217, fo. 13^a (see my abstract in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. 1. p. 142): "A house and garden of one Monsieur Juselin worthy the sight. A little river running under his house is so kindly invited into the Garden and roomes of the howse by pipes and cockes, that it seems to take a pleasure to dwell there and to be loth to leave so sweet a place, running up and downe the garden and scattering it selfe into twenty knotts or bedds brimfull with the ground and turning it selfe into any posture rather then be turned out."

² Orleans had a great reputation at this time and was much visited by strangers, especially Germans, on account of its university. The English were apparently not much in evidence, except such as could drink and debauch. Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 43. The same traveller adds: "I have not seen a neater town in France. In fine the city was by Francis I esteemed the most agreeable of his vast dominions." The wine, to which Mortoft refers, was so strong that, according to Evelyn, the King's cup-bearers were sworn never to give it to him. Mortoft says nothing of his journey from Paris, but most travellers remark upon the excellence of the roads, which were paved with freestone, and on the dangers of robbery in the forest of Orleans. Evelyn's party (1644) was set upon and four were slain. Reresby has a brief description of Orleans, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 21. See also Heylyn, *Voyage of France*, 1673, p. 270.

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with more purity here then in other places, Invites many strangers to reside here

The Church of St. Croix¹ is the most superb of all the buildings in Orleans, but since the Civill warres for the Religion it is much rund. The steeple hath been counted the highest in France As for the houses in the Citty there are few stately ; that of the Duke's being A very old building, and many an ordinary gentleman's house exceeding it. We had that morning that wee were in the Duke's house the honour to see him,² who is a very bigg and grosse man, having a very red Countenance.

20

Chambord

From Orleans wee went to Bloyes, which is some 10 Leagues from Orleans, and by the way turned 3 or 4 leagues out of the way to see a house called Chambourg,³ which is one of the finest and strongest houses in France. It was begun to be built by Francis the first, but he could not finish it, although there were 1,800 workemen for 12 yeares together about it. One may mount up there by a double paire of staires, which are so large that those that mount up together may speake to one another without being seene. There are about 274 degrees. Being at the Topp, one may cast a Ball or apple straight downwards through a little hole which appears belowe.⁴

¹ The Cathedral of St Croix was ruined by the Huguenots in 1567. It was practically rebuilt between 1601 and 1829

² Jean Baptiste Gaston, 1608–1660, third son of Henri IV and Marie de' Medici. He had been forced to retire to his estates after the collapse of the second Fronde and the entry of Louis XIV into Paris. D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 217 His fruitless intrigues fill the history of France for many years. He was four times banished from France, and only the fact of his royal birth saved him from the fate of the associates whom he sacrificed

³ Chambord, one of the finest palaces of the Renaissance, built in 1526 for Francis I.

⁴ On this gigantic freak staircase, see T. A. Cook, *Old Touraine*, vol. II pp 193–194: "It has two openings and by imagining two huge corkscrews one within the other, whose curves ascend together, yet never touch except at their extreme edges, the perplexed visitor strives to understand how it comes about that his companion, who is mounting upward like himself, can never meet him though never be completely lost." Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 44.

From thence to Blois are 4 leagues, where we arrived very late at night, which Citty is seated upon the River of Loire, which is joynd to the Citty by a Bridge of stone. The Castle hath beene built by two Kings of France, Lous the 12th and Fransis the 1st, part of which hath been demolished by the Duke of Orleans, who hath begun to make it a faire building.¹ By the Castle is A very fine garden seperated into two parts, high and low. Monsieur le Duc D'Orleans hath inrichd it with Divers rare simples. Within an alley of the low garden is the Picture of a stag taken in the tyme of Lous the 12th, and having a horne of 24 Branches.

The French tongue is heere spoken with much purity and eligance, which is the reason that many strangers resort hither to inhabitt. There are also a great number of Protestants in the Towne, having their Church or Temple to resort too.

From Blois wee went to Amboise, which is 10 Leagues ²¹ Amboise distant, and the way all along by the River of Loire, where wee dined. It is a Citty very well seated in a healthful ground, which was the cause that the Kings of France in former tymes nourished their Children in this place. It is not a very great Citty, but the houses are reasonable well built. Their is a very faire Castle²

¹ The castle, which was enlarged and embellished by Francis I, and in which the Duke de Guise was assassinated by order of Henri III, was then occupied by Gaston, Duke of Orleans. On his death, in 1660, the whole place was dismantled. Ed Browne, in 1665, says "Blois is pleasant by reason of its situation upon the side of an hill. The Duke of Orleans' garden there is quite ruined, but a noble gallery is left, and one side of a pallace begun." Letter in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1 pp 106-107. Compare T A Cook, *Old Touraine*, II p. 178. Ferrier (1687), says "A town next after Paris as much spoken of as any in France, but contrariwise did find it a small place with scarce one good house and not one good street in it." *Journal*, Camden Miscellany, vol. IX. p 34. Both Evelyn (p. 44) and Reresby (p. 22) speak of the numbers of wolves in the adjoining forest which came into the town in cold weather and carried off the children out of the streets.

² The castle was in the possession of the Crown from 1434 to 1762. Within the chapel are the remains of Leonardo da Vinci, who died at Amboise in 1519. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 45, and

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adjoyning to the Citty, which is built upon such a high ground that it wearies a man very much to goe up to it. There is to be seene in a Rome of this Castle a horne of A stagge, hung up on the sealing, and of such a vast bigness that it makes the Castle famous.¹ It is not knowne whether it is made artificially or naturally.

Tours

From Amboise, after wee had dyned, wee went toward Tours, which is 6 leagues from Amboise, and arrived there somewhat late in the evening. The Citty is very faire and agreable, the streetes are long and very cleane. The Principall Church is that of St. Gratian, which is beleaved to be the worke of the English.²

The Church of St. Martin³ is also very great, wherein is a very faire paire of Organs and A magnificent Aultar. The bones and reliques of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, are prensely [princely] kept and esteemed by those of that order. There are also many large Altars in that Church, on

Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 23. Ferrier (1687), says: "There is nothing extraordinary but the castle, which dos also now fall to decay every day," p. 34

¹ It remained for a German soldier in the Franco-Prussian War to discover that these antlers were nothing but a gigantic fraud in wood. They were carned off, but before the booty could be got to the next station the famous horns had crumbled away into a mass of worm-eaten dust. T. A. Cook, *Old Touraine*, II p. 88. When Lord Willoughby was there in 1647, "to confirme strangers beleefe they shewed also two ribbs of the same stagge, of an immense length and greatnes with a boune of the neck much like one of our English butttes they use to cleave wood with." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Ancaster MSS.*, p. 420. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 45; Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 23

² The Cathedral of St. Gratian, commenced in 1170, and not finished until the 16th century, is one of the finest Gothic edifices in France. Compare Heylyn, *Voyage of France*, 1673, p. 261. "Hearing that the English whilst they had possessions in this Countrey were great builders, they bestow on them without any more adoe the foundation and perfecting of most of the Churches and Castles in the Countrey." Reresby (p. 23) writes of Tours: "Not unfitly called the garden of France, for its delicious and fruitful situation, and drives a great inland trade"

³ St. Martin's Church, extolled by Gregory of Tours, was afterwards rebuilt on a still more magnificent scale in the 12th-13th centuries. It was pillaged by the Huguenots in the 16th century, and finally demolished in 1802. The Tour Charlemagne and Tour St. Martin in the rue des Halles are now all that remain.

which are painted the pictures of some Friars to the very life. There is also in the Friars' keeping the oyle which anointed Henry the 4th when he came to be King of France, and which the Papists hould in soe much esteeme, that happy is he that can but kisse the glasse in which it is in.

The Castle of Tours¹ is old and ruined. The suburbs are great and faire; there is also the place where they play at Mall, which is a thousand paces long, and shadowed with 7 Rowes of trees, and is esteemed to be the fairest in all France.

Those of the Religion, of which there are many in this Towne, have theire Church about a mile from it, where wee being, observed it very full, by reason of the multitude that resorted to it.

Wee went from Tours towards Richelieu,² being 12 23 *Richelieu* long leagues, and arrived there that night. The Castle absolutely is the stateliest building that is to be found in the Kingdom and was built by the Cardinal Richelieu, and also the Towne, which, though but little,

¹ The remains of the Château of Plessis-lès-Tours, built and occupied by Louis XI, who died there in 1483, lie about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile out of the town. On Tours, see Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 45: "No city in France exceeds it in beauty or delight"

² The birth-place of the Cardinal (1585–1642), who made it a handsome town and built the splendid castle of which practically nothing remains. Evelyn (p. 47) notes that the place was but thinly inhabited since the Cardinal's death, "standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure." Lord Willoughby was there in 1647, when it was described as "the beauty and epitome of all France both for natur and artifice" Hist. MSS Comm., *Ancaster MSS.*, p. 424. Ed Browne, in 1665, writes as follows: "Here is no house in France so noble as Richelieu's. The uniformity of the building of the town also was not a litle divertissing, being very different from anything else in this country." Letter in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, I p. 107. In 1678, Katherine Perceval writes to her grandmother "At Richelieu the houses are built all alike most beautifully, the streets very broad and clean, and as even paved as is possible, the Cardinal Richelieu built it, as also a most stately castle about a bow shot from the town. He was born in one part of it and he has taken no small pains to beautify it beyond what is to be imagined. We heard much of it, but not half that we find." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Egmont MSS.*, II p. 74. Compare Resesby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 25.

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is the prettyest contrived thing that possibly any man can enter into. At the entrance into the Castle is a very faire large Courte. On the left hand is a very Rich chappel guld[e]rd over with gold, and adorned about with many curious pictures to stirr up devotion. In the upper Romes are the Chambers of the King and Queene, which are as stately and rich as any such great Person can desire. There are also many rare and admirable Pictures brought from Italy, which would astonish any person to behold the lively actions that are there sett forth in these pictures. There is a very fine long Gallery, hung al about with pictures concerning the last King's warrs, where the Cardinal is represented in some places in Armour. At the upper end of the Gallery is a very fine Table of Agatt, where one may see ones selfe as in a glasse. There is much Rich furniture belongs to this house, but in regard it is not Inhabited, it lyes up and is not discovered.

There are also very faire stables belonging to the house, with a very fine garden, and a great Pond or Moate going quite round both house and garden, and in the garden are many fountains and marble statues, at one side whereof is a going out of the garden into A very large Parke, which takes up many miles in compasse.

Saumur

24

Wee parted from Richelieu and arrived at Samur¹ that afternoone, being distant 10 Leagues. The Citty is little within the wals, but the suburbs are very greate, at the entrye of which is a place very agreable to walke in. Those of the Religion have their Church in the Towne. The Citty is much frequented by Almans, Flamans and

¹ Saumur was one of the strongholds of Protestantism in France in the 16th century and the seat of a Protestant University prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The presence in the town of so many young men of different nationalities did not make for peace. See e.g., the experience of Lord Lorne in 1677, who was almost killed by a party of young Frenchmen. Hist MSS Comm, *Egmont MSS*, vol. II, p. 64. Reresby, *Travels*, p. 23, Dryden House Memoirs, has a good deal to say about Saumur. Ferrier (1687) found "nothing rare in it, the houses being old, no handsome streets, and the circumference of the whole not great." *Journal*, Camden Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 35.

English, as well for the beauty and purity of the languish [sic] and divers excercises that are there taught.

From Samur wee went all along the River of Loire to 25 Angers, being 12 leagues distant, and arrived there in the Evening. It is A capitol Citty, and parted in two by the River of Maine, which dischargeth itself into the River of Loire. The Bridge which joynes the two parts of the Citty is very long and well built. It hath a very strong Castle¹ seated on a high place, environed with very deep ditches, where they give entrance to strangers more easily then to those of the Towne.

Angers

From Angers wee went towards Nants,² al along by the 26 Nantes River of Loire, some 18 long leagues from Angers, and arrived there on the 27th, being Satterday, about Noone. It's not a Citty very great, but strong, and of great trafficke, because of the Commodity of the Port upon the River of Loire. I observed heere one thinge as I walked along the streetes; that none of the women were Idle, but the Gentlemen and little Girles, as they satt at their dores or walked about the streetes, had their spinning worke in their hands.

In one of the Churches of this Citty is the Tomb of Frances the 2nd, last Duke of Brettagne, travalled by Michael Columbe,³ An excellent Engraver. The Protestants in this Citty have their Church a league out of the Towne.

¹ A feudal stronghold dating from the 13th century and still one of the most remarkable buildings of its kind in existence. Many of its towers have been razed, and a new Boulevard has filled up its immense moat. Reresby says of Angers. "The streets of the city are large and numerous, and provisions plentiful, which invites to it many people of quality, both French and strangers." *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 29.

² Thos. Browne, Jr., was at Nantes in 1662, and states that it was a great resort of merchants, English, Flemish and other nations, the wines and commodities from Orleans, Blois and other places being shipped here. *Diary* in Sir Thos Browne's Works, ed Wilkin, i. p. 21. Compare Reresby, p. 29.

³ In the Cathedral of St Pierre, a very elaborate work in the Renaissance style, executed in 1507 by Michel Colomb.

1658—Oct. 3
La Rochelle

Wee departed from Nants towards Rochel,¹ and arrived there the 3rd of October, being accounted 38 long leagues, but more like 50, and the way extreame difficult to find, that some tymes wee were 4 houres in riding two leagues, but wee had the benefitt as wee rid along to gather of the grapes out of the Vinyards, which sometymes reachd 20 mile together.

At the entrye of the gate are two great Tours built by Charles the 5th. It was one of the strongest Cittyes in France before it was taken by Louis the 13th, the strength of which may be seene by the wals, which seeme as if they were founded upon Rockes, being so extreame high and the ditches so deepe that there is no taking of it by storme.

The Citty is not very populous, but one of the neatest and cleanlyest in all France, which may invite persons to dwell here sooner then in any other Citty.

Those of the Religion, of which there are moltitudes, have their Church in the Town, and which on sabbath dayes is very full of People.

Île de Ré Some 3 leagues distant from Rochel, by crossing the sea, is the Island of Rey,² which is some 7 leagues in

¹ Thos Browne, Jr, writes in 1662. "I came to Rochelle, which hath formerly been a famous, strong and populous place; but the walls were demolished by Louis XIII; those of the religion expelled; the round church given unto the Jesuits, and some convents built in and about it; and hath little or nothing left of its strength and beauty, but some towers which by the last war are much defaced or going to ruin" *Diary* in Sir Thos Browne's Works, ed. Wilkin, 1 pp 19-20. The town was the chief Huguenot stronghold in the 16th century. In 1572-1573, it withstood a siege of upwards of 6 months, but in the following century it was starved into surrender after a siege of 13 months (1628). Howell, in 1620, found it unpleasant and inhospitable. *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, 1 p 54. Compare Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, pp. 28-29.

² The Île de Ré is about 10 miles to the west of La Rochelle. It was much visited by travellers in the 17th century on account of its salt works. Compare Thos. Browne, Jr, in *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, 1. p. 20; also Lord Willoughby in *Ancaster MSS.*, Hist. MSS Comm., p. 421. In 1627, Buckingham commanded an expedition to La Rochelle to help the Huguenots. He reached the island of Ré and effected a landing, but sustained heavy losses. No reinforcements

compasse, and which was the place where so many English were slayne in the tyme of the Duke of Buckingham. Here, in this Island, they have the faculty of making salt, by certain Pits made in the manner of garden Plots, which being fild with water from a spring that runs up and downe, after the stopping the spring the winds and sun turnes the water into salt. Wee also saw them here and At Rochel and other places make wine, puting the grapes into A large Tunn, where Men pressing them with their feete, and after wards puts them into a Presse, making the liquor run downe into a Tunn to receive the wine.

Having stayed some 7 dayes at Rochel we went from thence, on the 7th of October, towards Bourdeaux, 7 which is some 37 leagues distant, and lay the first night at Tonny Cherant,¹ some 6 Leagues from Rochel, where is a very fine and large River, to receive the ships that are sent thither from other places to be transported to England, Holland and other Countreys.

*Tonny-
Charente*

From thence wee went to Brouage,² which is a Port of the sea, the Cittty being very well fortified with a garrison and a Cittadel that goes quite round the Towne, the like for strength and invention is not againe in France. No stranger is permitted to enter unlesse the Governour

Brouage

were sent, and the miserable remnants of his army had to embark and return to England *Camb Mod. Hist.*, rv. pp 266–267 The Philobiblion Society has printed Lord Herbert of Cherbury's account of the expedition

¹ Tonny-Charente, a small town with a harbour, not far from Rochefort.

² Now a small port 7 miles south-west of Rochefort. It was a notable fortress in the 17th century. Compare Thos. Browne, Jr., in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, i p 20: "From hence we crossed to Brouage, a very strong place, and accounted impregnable. It is indeed a notable fortification, and has scarce any but soldiers in it. It was built to defend the coast, and bridle these parts of France." Compare Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 28 "A great security but very chargeable in making, many hundreds of trees being driven down lengthways like piles, into that boggy moist ground to secure the foundation, before they could either make houses or fortifications."

1658—Oct. 7

Île d'Oléron

be acquainted with it beforehand. Having dined at Brouage, wee passed all along the salt pitts for 4 or 5 leagues, and so crossed over in a Boate to the Iland of Olerun,¹ which is a little place, but much famous for the Abundance of wyne and salt that comes out of it, and furnishes many other parts. There is a little Cittidal, but strong, built just by the sea side.

*Marans**Saintes*

Having layne in the Iland of Oleron, we went, the 11th day, towards Xaint, some 8 long leagues distant, and passed through the biggest Bourgh in France, Called Marans,² where the Protestants have there Church in the middle of the Towne, and being there also in great Numbers. Wee arrived at Xaint³ that night, which is a very old Citty, being the Capitol of the Country of Xaintonge. The Citty is seated upon the River of Charannt, which passed under a Bridge between the Citty and suburbs; the Suburbs are very large and well peopled.

There is to be seene, at one end of the Citty, A very ancient building of the Romans, called an Amphitheater, where they used to keepe the Lyons and wild Beastes for the sport of the People. It is of a very large compasse and hath beene a very strong building, but is now decayed. There is also in a Rocke, where this Amphitheatur is, the Picture of a Virgin, named St^t Estienne, under which there is a spring, which the Papists fancy that that water hath cured many strange diseases, and as oft as any of them passe that way, they forget not their devotion to the saint.

¹ Compare Thos Browne, Jr., *loc cit*: "There are few things to remark in this island, besides a strong castle and St. Peter's church, or chapel, in the town of St. Peter's, which stands in the middle of the isle."

² Compare Thos Browne, Jr., *loc cit* Marans was then, and still is, notable for its trade in grain.

³ Saintes The amphitheatre is situated in a hollow near the church of St Eutropius. It dates from the 1st or 2nd century A.D. and measures 436 feet by 354 feet, and could hold about 22,000 spectators. Of the 74 arches only 9 remain, in more or less good preservation. Compare the description by Thos. Browne, Jr., in *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, i. p. 18 Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 26.

From Xaint wee went towards Bourdeaux and arrived at Blaye the day following, which was some 16 long leagues This Towne is very ancient and strong though little, having a very strong Castle with a Governor and Garrison, just by the River of Garonne.

Blaye

Frome Blaye wee went to Bourdeaux by water, imbarcking ourselves in one Boate and our horses in another, which is some 7 leagues from Blaye, and arrived that night at Bourdeaux, which was satterday, the 13th of October, and lodged At the Chapeau Rouge.

13

Bordeaux¹ is a very faire and large Citty seated upon the River of Garonne there, belonging to the Citty, one of the fairest Ports in all France, which in Vintage tyme is fild with many hundred ships to receive the wine that is made in the Countrey of Guyin, the ground all about for many leagues together being planted with nothing else but Vines, so that they ship of at least every year at this Port a hundred thousand Tunn of Wyne.

Bordeaux

A little out of the Citty are the Reliques of an Amphitheater,² which the Romans built for their Pleasure in Beholding Lyons and other wild Beasts fight one with another.

There are about 8 Convents of Religious Persons and a Colledge of Jesuits, founded 1580. The Church of St. Andrew³ is the Cathedral and a very large building.

¹ Compare Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p 27 "Not without reason esteemed one of the prime cities in France." Ed Browne, *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, 1 p 105. "Wee saw St Andrew's church and from the steeple had a prospect of the towne, river and country about it, and could not but judge its situation the most convenient of any towne wee had seen." Scaliger is less enthusiastic. "La ville de Bourdeaux est accreue par trois fois, c'est pourquoy elle est goffe et mal bastie . . . Ceux de Bourdeaux ont en leur ville plus de 2000 tonneliers Ils changent avec les Danois du vin pour du bois, pour faire les tonneaux, qui se font beaucoup à Bourdeaux." *Scaligeriana*, ed. of 1695, pp 64-65

² Palais Gallien, so called because the Emperor Gallienus (d. 268) is believed to have erected it. A great part was still standing in 1792.

³ St. André, the Cathedral, one of the finest churches in S. France. It dates from the 11th-12th centuries.

1658—Oct. 13

A little out of the Citty is the Church of St Surin,¹ a very ancient Building, where one may see Certaine great stones carved out in manner of Tombes, where according as the moone increases or deminishes the water in them doth the same.

The Hotel de Ville² is seated cloase by the Ancient walls of the Citty, where in one of the Romes one may see the Maires and Jurates painted to the life In their Ornaments. The great street,³ which is just butting on the Port, is as faire and large as any streete either in France or England, and indeed noe street in any Citty in France to compare with it. The Citty is an Archevesch and the seate of the Parlament of the Provence. The Protestants in this Towne have their Temple about a League out of the Towne.

Cadillac

- 23 Wee departed from Bourdeaux the 23rd of October and went towards Codillac,⁴ being some 8 leagues from Bourdeaux, a Citty belonging to the Duke of Espernon,⁵ wherein is one of the finest contrived houses in all France, and every way as stately as any greate person can desire. It is built in forme of A Castle, where are many large and stately Chambers fitt to entertaine the greatest Person in France. The Castle is built, as it were, double, there being many large and stately chambers fitt to entertaine such A Person as was the Duke of Espernon, and many large Romes under ground for a conveniency to dresse all the Provision that any Noble man might have occasion for.

¹ St. Seurin, built in the 11th century, on the site of a much more ancient church. The tombs are probably the six sarcophagi in the crypt.

² The existing Hotel-de-Ville dates from the 18th century.

³ Cours du Chapeau-Rouge, "which for breadth and length I never saw a better" Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 27.

⁴ Cadillac, a small town on the right bank of the Garonne, still surrounded by walls of the 14th century. The château d'Épernon (16th-17th centuries) is now a prison for women

⁵ Henri de Nogaret d'Épernon, Duc de Candale, the French general and statesman, had died in 1639. See *Nouvelle Biog. Universelle*, VIII p. 451.

There is also on one side of the house a very high staire case, which, when one is at the topp of all and lookes downe, it seemes like a little Round hole at the Bottom, being A very pretty contrived thing, and gives much satisfaction to those that take the paines to goe to the top of the stayres to behold it.

In the garden joyning to the house is a very fine sepulcher built in manner of A Pyramide, wherein is inclosed the shapes of al manner of Beastes and men and women, out of which a man going under ground makes the water to spout out in so many several places that it is admirable to behold.

From Cadillac wee went towards Tolouz, and lay ²⁵ that night at a Village called St Maccaire, two long *St. Macaire* Leagues from thence. And from that place the next ²⁶ day wee lodged at a Village called Esguillon,¹ being 9 *Aiguillon* long leagues and at least 50 mile English, the leagues being hereabouts counted the longest in France.

From thence wee went the next day to Agen,² being ²⁷ 3 long leagues distant all a long by the River of Garonne, where wee dyned and lay that night at a Village called Moyssac,³ being 6 long leagues from Agen, where I marked *Moissac* that day that wee were full 11 houres on horsebacke in going 9 Leagues, for all the way was very good, and our horses went a very great pace all that day.

From Moyssacke wee went to Mountaban,⁴ which is ²⁸ *Montauban*

¹ ? Aiguillon, the Acilio of the Romans, on the left bank of the Lot.

² Compare Ed. Browne, *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, 1 p. 105 : "A great place Scaliger's house, and the hermitage in a rock, is all that is to be seen there" Scaliger himself says. "Agen est plus grande que Leide; elle est pleine d'hostels de Gentilshommes, qui se retirèrent en la ville and faisoient la guerre aux Anglois." *Scaligerana*, ed. of 1695, p. 9.

³ Moissac, a small town of very ancient origin, which suffered much in the wars of the 15th-17th centuries.

⁴ Montauban, a prosperous town, the capital of the department of Tarn-et-Garonne, and a bishopric. It was one of the Huguenot strongholds. Louis XIII failed to take it, but after the fall of La Rochelle the town submitted in 1629, and its fortifications were levelled. I cannot trace any other reference to the fountain.

1658—Oct. 28

the first Towne in Languedoc, being 7 long leagues from Moyssac. It is a Citty seated upon a high Hill, and hath in former tymes been very strong, so that it hath sustained many sieges against the Kings of France in defence of the Protestant Religion. They are almost all Protestants that inhabit in this Citty, having two Temples within the Citty to resort too, wherein in one of them is preaching or praying every day of the yeare. There is a very faire Fountaine at the lower end of the Towne called the Griffon, which hath at least 20 spouts, which seperates the Citty and the Fauxbourg of St Antony.

Toulouse

- 29 Having stayed one after noone at Mountaban Wee departed from thence on Satterday, the 29 of October, and arrived that day at Toulouze,¹ being 7 leagues distant from Mountaban, where as wee rid along wee could easily discerne the Pyrenian Mountains, which are counted 34 leagues distant from that place. Wee could also perceive the snow on the mountaines which continues there winter and summer.

[Toulouse] is the Capitol Citty of Languedoc, a very ancient and large Citty, replenished with many faire Buildings of Bricke.

The River of Garonne passes through the Citty and devides it in two, upon which is a very faire Bridge of stone,² and is counted one of the Mervailles of the Kingdom, being built much after the same fashion as the Pont Neuf at Paris.

¹ Ed. Browne describes Toulouse as "a very great towne, yet I cannot compare it to Lyons, being built but of brick and the houses much lower." *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1. p. 104. Compare *Scaligerana*, ed. of 1690, p. 390: "Tholose est une plaisante Ville, c'est la plus belle Ville de France, elle est de marbre et de brique, il y a de si beaux Palais, on y fait rigoureuse justice." Thomas Platter, Jr., whom we shall meet at Montpellier, has a long description of Toulouse in 1599. *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, Soc. des Bibliophiles de Montpellier, 1892, pp. 483 ff.

² Pont-Neuf, built 1543-1626.

The Cathedral Church is named St. Estien,¹ which is very great and wel built, having 14 Chapels about it.

But the Church of² [St Sernin] is one of the fairest in all France, encompassed all about with many faire Altars and overlaid with gold, so that it may be wel conjectured the Friers belonging to this Church have not neglected any cost to make it a famous building

The Hotel de Ville³ hath always A guard at the gate, where noe stranger is permitted to enter unlesse he leaves his sword at the gate and hath a souldier to conducte him. On one side of the entrye is placed the statue of Henry the greate, on the right hand is painted the entrye of Philip the 13th into Toulouze, with the Portraits of all the Burgers of the Towne, being a very pretty businesse and worth the seing. Going right on, one enters on the right hand into A hall where the Court of Parliament uses to assemble. At one place in the Hal is the statue of A woman in white marble made by Dame Clemence, which founded the playes of flowers or Agluntin, under the statue are painted 4 Flowers, and in these playes are proposed All the first days of May.⁴

One may see here also other faire Portraits, and among others those of the Parliament with their Ornaments.

¹ St Etienne, some portions of which date from the 13th century.

² St Sernin, a magnificent Romanesque church, begun c. 1075. The eastern limb was consecrated in 1096

³ The Hôtel-de-Ville has been almost entirely rebuilt in modern times Compare Ed Browne, *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, 1 p 105: "In the towne house I saw the stone on which Montmorency was beheaded, and some od pictures, one of Louis, the Dauphin, son to Charles 7, entring into Tholouse on hors back, with the queen his mother behind him"

⁴ The Académie des Jeux Floraux was established at Toulouse in 1323 and is one of the oldest literary institutions in Europe It still exists. Flowers of gold and silver are distributed to its laureates. A noble lady, Clémence Isaure, left funds to endow the académie, and a flower Fête is held annually on May 3rd. The institution has now its own house, but the members met formerly in the Hôtel-de-Ville. See J. C. Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance* (Columbia University Press), 1924.

1658—Oct. 29

The Arsenal and other Churches and Convents are close by this Place. All the Inhabitants in this Citty are Papists.

- 30 Having stayed onely one halfe day at Tolouze, wee went from thence on Sunday, the 30 of October, and dined at a Village called Ville Franche,¹ at the signe of the Pallay Royal, which is a place much frequented, in regard the woman of the house is very young and a great Beauty, who gives her selfe up to the pleasures of those that give her gold or silver, of which she wants for noe customers, having an old Bawd to attend upon her for that purpose. From thence wee went and lay that night at a place called Castlenau Dury,² being 5 long leagues distant from the place where wee dined, and being extreemly troubled with the wind al this day, that we had much a doe to sitt on horse backe.

Villefranche-
de-Lauraguais

Castelnaudary

- Carcassonne 31 From this Towne wee went to Carcason,³ being 8 long leagues distant. It is a very ancient Citty, being double, one part being built upon a very high Hil, wherein is a Governour and garrison, and is esteemed a very strong place.

The other part is built along the River. The streetes are very straight and large, wherein is a place

¹ Villefranche-de-Lauraguais, now a small town on the Canal du Midi, possessing a church of the 14th century. I can find no other mention of the inn or its hostess.

² Castelnaudary.

³ So few travellers visited Carcassonne at this time, and those that did thought so little of it, that it is refreshing to find Mortoft devoting a few lines to it. Ed. Browne, *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1 p. 104, merely says: "Carcassonne towne and city together would make a large place." Probably it was then in a dilapidated condition. Two hundred years later it would have been sold to the house breakers had not a number of public-spirited archæologists stepped in and saved it. It is now a little over-restored by M. Viollet-le-Duc, but at least it is safe. The Cité stands on a solid pedestal above the lower town. It has a double row of fortifications with fifty round towers, and is dominated by a citadel. See *La Cité de Carcassonne*, by Joseph Poux, Toulouse, 1924. Ernster (1608) also notes the trade in combs. *Raisbuch*, Stuttgart Litt. Verein, 1877, vol. 135, p. 177.

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quartered out in the middle, where one may see the 4 gates of the Citty at once. They sel heere very good combes and other things turned in wood and Box, and so prettyly wrought that they are not to be found again in other places.

Having stayed at Carcason about halfe a day, where 1 Nov. are as many handsome Gentlewomen for the bignesse of the Citty as in any Towne in France, wee went towards Narbone, where by the way I tooke notice of the first Olive trees that ever I saw, being some two or 3 leagues from Carcason, the Contrye of Languedoc abounding as much or more in Olive trees then Normandy doth in Paires or Apples.

About 3 or 4 leagues' before one comes to Narbonne one passes through a very large Mountaine, where Rosemary and all kind of Herbes growes as in a garden, and gives a very good sent to those that passe that way, the truth is all the ground in Languedoc beares nothing else but sweet herbes, where one may observe to grow together 3 of the Considerable things of mans life, that is, Corne, Wyne and oyle, the Olive trees being planted on that ground where the Corne growes, and close by are planted Vinyards, of which the Inhabitants make wyne in abundance.

Passing a long that Mountaine wee arrived at last at the Citty of Narbone,¹ which is 9 [? 7] long leagues from Carcason.

[Narbonne] is the last Citty of France on that side, very ancient and Colony of the Romans, ful of Markes and monuments of Antiquity. The Aire of this Citty is not very health full, in regard it is seated very low and hath many Ponds about it.

Narbonne

¹ There is a long description of Narbonne in 1599 in *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, pp. 400 ff.

1658—Nov. 1

The Church of St. Justinian¹ is very strong and magnificent, having a steeple of 400 degrees. One may there see the Organs of the Church, which are placed up each wall one by another, and which hath neede of one onely breath to sound them. But above all is to be admired the Picture of Lazarus raised up by Christ, esteemed one of the cheefest workes in all France, but wee being in the Church too soone in the morning could not see it, and our journye pressing us to be gone before 9 a clocke, wee unhappily lost the sight of it.

Béziers

- 2 Parting from Narbonne, wee went and dined at Beziers, 5 leagues distant, which is a very ancient City and colony of the Romans. The River of Orb passes against the City under a very faire Bridge. The Church of St Nazaire² is the greatest, which is built upon A high Rocke, where one may have a very agreeable sight of all the neighboring Countryes.

The Jesuits have heere a very Magnificent Colledge. There are also many of the Religion which Inhabit in this City.

Parting from Beziers, we lay that night at St Tubery, 3 leagues off, which is an Abbey and little Towne close by the River of Eraut.

Montpellier

- 3 Parting from thence, wee went towards Mompelie³, where wee arrived in the Afternoone, which was some

¹ St. Just, formerly the Cathedral, a fine but unfinished Gothic edifice, dating from 1272-1332. There are references to the Raising of Lazarus in a letter of Ed. Browne, *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, i. p. 104, and Thomas Platler, p. 402, who says it was commenced by Michelangelo and finished by Sebastien Veneto. Platler describes the picture at length.

² St. Nazaire dates from the 12th-14th centuries, a Gothic edifice partly fortified. The terrace by the church is notable for its view of the Orb, the surrounding country and the Mediterranean.

³ The prosperity of Montpellier dates from the 12th century, when its still celebrated school of medicine was founded. Ed. Browne (1664) writes to his father: "This place is the most delightful of all France, being seated upon an hill in sight of the sea, inhabited by a people, I suppose, without injury to my owne country, the most handsome in the world, the meanest of them going neatly dressed

8 leagues off from that place where wee lay, all the way almost as wee went casting a very sweet smel, in regard of all sorts of sweete herbes which growes by the way side.

[Montpellier] is a very faire and handsome Citty adorned with many straight streetes and very handsome high houses. The Gentlewomen of the Citty are very Civil and live here with much pleasure and delight as any Persons in France.

There were many Churches and Convents of Catholicks in the Citty, before the warrs that those of the Protestant Partye made in defence of their Religion, of which there are a great Number in the Citty, who have two Churches to resort to on the sabbath dayes.

The Garden of the King,¹ which is against the wals of the Citty, merriits to be seene for the rare simples and herbes of all sorts that are growing in it, where they shewed us a tree which they say is the same sort of tree that Judas hanged himselfe upon. The Cittidal, built since the warrs, is pretty big, with 4 Bastons, two within and 2 without the Citty.

every day, and there carriage so free, that the meerest stranger hath acquaintance with those of the best ranck of the towne immediately " *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, 1 p 70. Compare *Scaligerana*, ed of 1690, p 271 " *une si jolie ville* . ils ont comme en tout Languedoc des portiques où le vent entre pour rafraischir & des salles basses qui sont faites tellement que le vent s'y engoule pour les rafraischer l'Esté " There is an unenthusiastic description of the town by John Ray (c 1663) " The streets of this city are very narrow, short and crooked without any uniformity or beauty at all, so intricate that it's half a year's work to understand them at all and learn the way from place to place The number of apothecaries in this little city is scarce credible, there being thirty shops, and yet all find something to do " *Travels*, 2nd edition, 1738, vol 1 p. 389. Student life there in the 16th century is fully illustrated in the journals of Felix and Thomas Platter of Basle (Felix, 1552-1559, Thomas, 1595-1599) Felix Platter's journal has frequently been printed, but much that Thomas wrote is still in manuscript at Basle Portions relating to Montpellier and his travels in S France and Spain are translated in *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, Soc. des Bibliophiles de Montpellier, 1892, where this portion of Felix Platter's journal may also be conveniently read in French.

¹ Jardin des Plantes, the oldest in France, established by Henri IV in 1593, and organised by Richer de Belleval, d 1623.

1658—Nov. 3

There is here an Apothecary hath a very Rare Cabinet of all sortes of Fowles, Fishes, and strange beastes and other admirable things, which are worth seeing, and ~~which~~ every stranger that comes into the Towne is desired to see.¹

Heere is sold the wyne of Frontynian,² being so called from the place where it is made, some 3 leagues from Mompelier, which is made of al Muscat grapes, and which farr exceeds, by al men's approbation and in my Judgement, the best sacke that is drunke in England.

Having stayed here some 5 dayes, wee departed from thence on the 8 of November, and arrived at Nismes the same day, which is 8 leagues distant.

Nismes

Nismes³ is a very Ancient Citty and Colony of the Romans. The houses are faire in many places, and streetes very large.

The chiefest thing to be marked in this Citty is an Antiquity consisting in an Amphitheater⁴ which is intire,

¹ The anonymous traveller (1647) whose journal I possess, p 89, writes "Wee went to the Cabinet of Monsr. Catelan, the famous late Apothecary, wherein we saw these things following" (list follows). He also saw in the College of Physicians, "the Robe of Rabbas, the famous Dr of Physick, all cut and peaked by the curiosity of travellers taking reliques of it" Laurent Catalan, or Catelan, was a famous 16th century apothecary at Montpellier, and his cabinet was preserved for generations after his death Felix Platter lived in his house. *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, p 36, note 1.

² Frontignan, celebrated for its muscatel wines.

³ Mortoft's account of Nimes is most disappointing. Even apart from its Roman remains it had attractions which might well have moved him. Scaliger writes: "Si je voulais demeurer en quelque lieu je choisirois ce pays de Nismes pour y planter mon bourdon." *Scaligerana*, ed. of 1690, p 284. Compare *A new Journey over Europe*, by Chancel, 1717, p 187. "Its situation is as pleasant as any in Languedoc, being encompass'd with charming Fields and Hills covered with Vineyards and Fruit-trees" Nimes is described at length by Thomas Platter, pp 227 ff.

⁴ The Amphitheatre dates from the 2nd century A.D., and is one of the best preserved in France. John Buxton, who was there in 1681, writes: "Within the circumference of the walls are now built streets and houses, insomuch that (as they relate) there lives 500 protestants within the circumference that bear arms" Hist MSS. Comm. Various Coll., 1903, p. 274. Catherine Wilmot, in 1802, found the same condition of things: "I confess I was dreadfully disappointed at looking down within

being built in the figure of an Oval; within the Amphitheater there are houses built, so that when one is on the topp of all it seemes like a Bourgh or little Village. It is esteemed to be the worke of the Emperor Trajan in favour of his wife Plotina

A little out of the Citty one may see the Temple of Diana,¹ which at present is ruined, onely the forme is yet standing. The Protestants have their Church in the Towne.

Having stayed one day At Nismes, where wee lodged 10 at the Luxembourg, an Inne in the suburbs, wee parted from thence the 10th of November, and went to A place called the Pont Du guard,² 4 leagues from Nismes, which is as excellent a piece of worke as is in France, and is worthy to be seene by all strangers. And if the Romans have left any thing either for a marke of their greatnesse, or dispence, or excellency of worke, this may be wel esteemed to be it. There are 3 Bridges, one on the topp of another, or 3 Rowes or Arches. The lowest Bridge hath six Arches, where Passe men and Beastes, that of the middle hath 11, and the third Bridge hath 30.

Pont du
Gard

The highth of this worke is 82 feete, according to those that have measured it.

From Pont du guard wee went and lay that night at Avignon,³ which is a Citty belonging to the Pope,

its area, to see what was once the scene of splendour, now groaning beneath the accumulated indignities of dirt, shores, old houses and mouldering Hamlets, the resort of every abomination incident to Humanity" *An Irish Peer on the Continent*, 1801-1803, ed. by T. U. Sadleir, 1924 (2nd ed.), p. 100. The place was not cleared until 1809.

¹ The so-called Temple of Diana was more probably a Nymphaeum connected with the Thermae close by.

² There is a description of the Pont du Gard in *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, pp. 236 ff.

³ Avignon remained subject to the Popes (with intermissions) until 1791, when it was finally annexed to France. Evelyn obtained the leave of the Governor and the Vice-Legate to stay there for three days. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 50. There is a long account of Avignon by Thomas Platter in 1596. *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, pp. 239 ff. and pp. 390 ff.

16658—Nov: 10

and 4 leagues from Pont du gard and where the King of France hath nothing to doe. There is a continual Guard at the gate, which examins all persons that enter into the Citty, what they are, and whether they are of the reformed Religion, Not one Protestant being suffered to dwell in the Towne, or to remaine there more then 8 dayes.

Avignon

Avignon is a very ancient Citty, encompassed about with the finest Wals¹ of any Citty in Europe, seated upon the Rosne, where is a very faire Bridge, but some part broken downe, soe that noe horse can goe over it.²

There are many faire Churches in the Citty, as that of St^t Martial,³ where is to be seene a very faire Monument

¹ The walls are still well preserved, but two of the old gates have been demolished. T Okey, *Avignon*, Med. Town Series, pp 329 ff.

² The famous bridge, the Pont St Benezet, which carried the high road to Spain, was the work of the frères pontifes, who built it under the direction of St Benezet in 1177. It had a 15th century chapel to St. Nicholas, which still survives. The bridge is now much ruined. In 1352, when Clement VI rebuilt four of the arches, it is described as being of stone and wood. It was cut during the siege of Benedict XIII, and repaired or rebuilt in 1418 and 1430. It was intact in 1517-1518 when Antonio de Beatis crossed it, who says that it was 466 feet long, but that the Pope owned only 40 feet. Across these 40 feet the Jews might walk in safety, but beyond that they could be killed with impunity. *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, 1517-1518, ed by L Pastor, Freiburg 1/B, 1905, p 154. The surface was very slippery and bad for horses, as were also the streets of the city *Ibid*, pp 153-154. Felix Platter measured the bridge in 1554. He also notes that it was unsafe for horses, and quotes the proverb that one could not cross it without meeting two monks, two asses and two courtesans. *Felix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, p 80. It was still complete in 1596, when Thomas Platter crossed it *Ibid*, p 240. In 1602 the bridge was broken in two places, a fact noted by Bizoni in 1606 (*Aventures d'un Seigneur Italien à travers l'Europe*, 1606, ed by E. Rodocanachi, Paris, 1899, p 269); and the same condition of things existed in 1608. Ernstinger, *Raisbuch*, Stuttgart Litt. Verein, 1877, vol cxxxv, p. 162. In 1633 more arches fell, and in 1650 the gaps were bridged by planks, but these were carried away in 1670. Owing to disputes between the French Crown and the Papacy as to the liability for repair, all attempts to preserve it were abandoned in 1680. T Okey, *Avignon*, Med. Town Series, pp 21 ff, 307. Ernstinger, *loc cit*, says: "Enterhalb der bruggen ist es des Königs aus Franckhreich wie auch das mehrest thail der bruggen."

³ The Public Gardens of St Martial now mark the site of the church and monastic buildings. Part of the cloisters, four bays of the nave, and the apse have survived, the last being used as a Protestant temple. T. Okey, *Avignon*, pp. 348-349. Compare Thomas Platter in *Felix et Thomas Platter*, p 390: "On voit porté sur sept gradins, et orné de belles

of the Cardinal Amboise, and the representation of all the Abbeyes of the Monastery of Clugny, amongst which is Charles, King of Polony, under which is a great inscription in Latin.

The Pallace of the Popes¹ is ancient and very spacious, with many handsome Romes, where wee saw the Cabinet that the Queene of Sweethland lay in when she was at Avignon. The great Hall, which is alwaye full of the Attendants of the Vice Legat, is painted all about with the Pictures of the former Popes, wherein also is a very faire Chappel, where was at the tyme that wee were there the Vice Legate at Masse.²

There are abundance of Jewes³ inhabiting in this Citty, and to distinguish them from other People they ware yellow hatts. They are most of them very poore and much slighted by the Inhabitants. They have here their Synagogue and observe the Ceremonies of the old Testament.

Parting from Avignon the 11th of November, wee 11 went to Orange,⁴ 4 leagues distant, which is a little piece

statues, le mausolée, en marbre blanc, d'un archevêque Sur les colonnes de la nef sont les portraits de tous les princes qui ont porté l'habit de Cluny, entre autres celui de Casimir de Pologne."

¹ On the Palace of the Popes, see T. Okey, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 ff

² The Salle d'Audience, terribly debased when the Palace was used as a Barrack, but recently restored, was decorated with priceless frescoes which have now almost disappeared. T. Okey, *op. cit.*, pp. 314 ff The upper chapel was restored by the Vice-Legate, Lascaris, in 1659, the year after Mortoft's visit

³ Nowhere in Christendom were the Jews so well treated as at Avignon. They inhabited one street, but had to wear yellow (Evelyn says red) hats. Thos. Platter has a long account of their manner of life, and visited their underground synagogue, "une vraie cave," *op. cit.*, p. 252. Before leaving Avignon we must note what a 17th century traveller was rude enough to say of the women, doubtless the courtesans, of whom there were vast numbers (compare Felix Platter's description, *op. cit.*, p. 81). Sir Alex. Gordon writes in 1636: "Mr. St. Orme has carried me to see all the dames in this town, who ar the oughest bot the kyndest creaturs that ewer I did se." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Denbigh MSS.*, v. p. 24

⁴ Orange was the chief town of a small principality which passed in 1531 to the Count of Nassau, and it continued until the death of William III of England to be subject to that house. It passed to France by the Treaty of Utrecht. The town is described by Thos. Platter in *Felix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, p. 318.

1658—Nov. 11

of Earth belonging to the Prince of Orange, which hath not above 4 leagues long and 3 Large, seated between the County of Venaise and Avignon, Dauphin and Languedoc.

The Countrye abounds in Wyne, Corne and Wood, and all Sortes of Fruites, there is also much saffron growes here, which brings much profit to the Countrye.

Orange

The Citty takes the name of the Island and is named Orange, to which belongs a very strong Castle,¹ which is built upon a very high Rocke and is counted Impregnable. From this Castle is discovered 7 Provinces, vidz. Provençe, Dauphine, Languedoc, Lauvergne, Forests, [Forez], Avignon and Orange.

The Citty is very ancient, of which it preserves many faire markes of Antiquity. In one part of it is to be seene a very faire Tower or Arch Tryomphant,² made to the honour and Memory of Caius Marius and Catullus Lachitii, Romain Consuls, one may see there the figure and representation of all sorts of Armes, and read also the names of Caius Marius and Catullus. It is credibly reported that this Tower was built 500 yeares before the Birth of Our Saviour Christ. On one side is the representation of Rome tryomping in the habit of A Woman as Mistris of the world, having her head environed with the Rayes of the Sunn, and under her feete are represented Captive Kings with their hands bound behind them.

There is also within the Citty a Cirque or an Amphitheater³ at the foote of the Rocke where on the Castle is built, which is a place of very great antiquity, and built by the Romans.

¹ Destroyed by order of Louis XIV in 1673. Only some scanty ruins remain.

² The Arch stands north of the town on the Lyons Road, and is the finest monument of its kind in France. It dates probably from A.D. 21.

³ A very striking structure in spite of its ruinous condition. The remains of a Circus are close by. It is not known which Mortoft is describing.

There is also to be seene, in the sellar of A weaver, a Catt holding A Mouse in her mouth, cutt out in old Mosaïque worke, a thing worth the seing.

Those of the Religion, of which the Towne is full, have their Temple in the middle of the Citty, and one for their Minister that was formerly a Jesuite, a very learned man, and esteemed to be one of the best Protestant Preachers in all France.

The Towne and Castle is governed by An Aleman Count, a very civil gentleman, and much loved and honoured by the Inhabitants.

Departing from Orange on sunday, the 13th of 13 November, in the Afternoone, after wee had been at Church in the forenoone, and lay that night againe In Avignon, where wee were examined before wee entered into the Towne, and went from thence, on Munday, the 14th, to Terrasson,¹ which is 5 leagues from Avignon, 14 *Tarascon* where wee dined, being 5 leagues from Avignon, and went from thence to Arles, which is 3 leagues from Tarrasson.

[From terrasson to Arles sur la levée.]²

Arles³ is a Citty very ancient, founded and Inhabited in former tymes by the Greekes, and a great and handsome Citty, seated upon the River of Rosne.

Arles

The Church of St. Trophime⁴ is esteemed here to be the greatest, and takes its Name from one that was the first Bishop of Arles, and so called Disciple of the Apostles, and one of the first founders of the Christian Faith among the Gaules, as the Papists say.

¹ Tarascon, with its sister town of Beaucaire, was a great centre in the days of the Fairs, which attracted all the merchants of Europe.

² The words in brackets seem to have been added by a different hand.

³ For descriptions of Arles, see A. de Beatis, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, 1517-1518, ed. by L. Pastor, Freiburg 1/B, 1905, p. 156, and *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, p. 256.

⁴ The ancient Cathedral of St. Trophimus, said to have been founded on the ruins of the Roman praetorium, and consecrated in 606. It has been several times rebuilt, the choir having been added in 1430.

Heere is to be seene An Amphitheater,¹ but farr inferior to that at Nismes.

Here is also the Place of the Temple of Diana, where is yet to be seene two very large Pillars² of marble, that was formerly an entrance into the Temple.

There is also kept in the Hotel de Ville a very precious antiquity, The Image of Diana, and the very same which the Pagans worshipped in former tymes, and was found about 7 yeares since under the ground in the very same place where the Temple stood, which indeed is a very lively and fine piece of worke, and is much esteemed by the Governours of the Citty, in so much as they refused 20,000 francks that a gentleman ofered for it.³

Salon

15 Parting from Arles on the 15th November, wee dined at a place four leagues from thence, and after dinner wee rid other 4 leagues to a place called Sallen,⁴ where all the way as wee rid the way was nothing but full of stones, so that a horse could tread upon nothing but stones, And it hath been so tyme out of mind, even since the tyme of the Romans.

16 The next day wee rid to Aix, 5 leagues distant from the place where wee lay, and most of the way as wee went being full of Rosemary, growing as thicke as hedges of Briers and thornes in England,⁵ [multitude of ollives and Cuntry very rocky].

¹ Compare Ed. Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1. p. 102 "Whose amphitheatre shows one the beginning and manner of building more then the other." It dates probably from the 1st-2nd century A.D.

² These must be the two antique granite columns to the left of the Hôtel du Nord.

³ The Venus of Arles, now in the Louvre, discovered here in 1651.

⁴ Salon. Compare Ed. Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1. p. 102: "In the Cordellier's church wee saw the tombe of Nostrodamus, esteemed a great prophet in this country."

⁵ Compare Ed. Browne, *op cit*, 1. p. 102. "The country is full of corke trees, pines, firres, larch trees, arria, divers sorts of oakes, broome and thornes ever green, besides all manner of sweet hearbs which grow wild and afford great refreshment to those that passe." Also Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 51: "In this tract all the heaths or commons

Aix¹ is one of the handsomest Cityes in all France, Being the Capitall and head City of Provence. The Buildings are very faire and the streetes very cleane, All the Inhabitants of the Towne are Catholickes.

The great Church² is worth being seene by strangers, being adorned with many Rich Altars, In one of which is carved very curiously Jesus Christ upon the Crosse with the two Theeves on each side, with all the souldiers beholding him There is no Antiquity in this City worth seing, it being not very ancient, onely adorned with as stately Buildings and handsome streets as any City in France.

Parting from Aix wee arrived at Marseilles³ the same day, which is 5 leagues from Aix, which is a very ancient City and Colony of the Romans It is seated close by the sea, having one of the most convenient ports in France belonging to it. And for the surety of the Port there are 3 Fortresses built Close by it, the nearest of which is the Castle of Iff.⁴ 17 Marseilles

are covered with rosemary, lavender, lentiscus, and the like sweet shrubs for many miles together." The words in brackets have been added by another hand

¹ Compare Ed Browne, *op cit*, I. p 102: "Aix, the neatest towne I have seene in France, very well built, the houses like those of Montpellier, but the streets straiter and handsommer"

² The Cathedral of St. Sauveur, dating in its oldest parts from the 11th century

³ Compare Ed Browne, *op cit*, I. p 102 "The long port and key with the druggist shops upon it, the old walls and towers, and the number of country houses about it make the best show" The anonymous traveller (1647), whose diary I possess, says: "The Country about is very fertile and pleasant, abounding with houses of pleasure which they call Bastides, to the number of 22,000," p 109 Evelyn is probably more correct when he numbers the bastides at 1,500, adding, very prettily: "Showing as if they were so many heaps of snow dropped out of the clouds among those perennial greens." *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 51 Ray, the naturalist, was there in 1665, and writes: "The streets are narrow as in most of the ancient towns in this country, to keep off the scorching beams of the sun in summer time. *Travels*, ed. of 1738, I. p 397. See also the long description in *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, pp 297 ff.; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1670, I. p. 42.

⁴ The celebrated castle built on the island of that name, rendered famous by Dumas' *Monte Cristo*.

1658—Nov. 17

There is a very fine Church in this Citty,¹ of which they say Lazarus was Bishop, where they have his Image all of silver, and many Reliques, as two of the stones that put to death S^t Stephen, and a piece of linnen that was wound about the dead Body of Christ, and twenty such things which they keepe with much ceremony and respect.

Over against the Port, on the other side of the water, is the Church of S^t Victor,² where his head is kept, And made of silver and gilded over, waighing six hundred pound weight, with many other Reliques and curiosities which are there to be seene.

- 23 Having stayed some tyme at Marseilles,³ wee departed from thence on the 23rd of November towards Niece, In regard wee could find no conveniency to passe over Into Italy by sea, and dined that day some 5 leagues from Marseilles, going through a very Rocky and Mountainous way after dinner. On the one side whereof is a place called S^t Boame,⁴ seated upon a very high Mountaine. There are many Religious people belonging to this Convent, which shew to those strangers that come many Reliques which they keepe with much ceremony; as the stones that put S^t Stephen to death, and the Markes

Ste. Baume

¹ The present cathedral, Ste. Marie Majeure, is a modern building. The remains of the ancient cathedral, built on the ruins of a temple of Diana, are to the right. A. de Beatis helps us to identify it "In la ecclesia cathedrale è il sepolchro di san Lazzaro." *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, ed L Pastor, 1905, p. 158.

² A relic of the powerful abbey of that name, founded about 440, and several times rebuilt. A. de Beatis notes the head of St. Victor and other relics, p. 158.

³ Mortoft leaves Marselles without noticing the galleys and the slaves, of which Evelyn gives a very moving picture. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 51.

⁴ Ste. Baume, about 8 miles from Aunol, where is the Hôtellerie de la Ste. Baume kept by nuns for the accommodation of pilgrims. The Ste. Baume is a grotto where Mary Magdalen is said to have ended her days. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 52. Ed Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1 p. 102. There is a long description in A. de Beatis *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, 1517-1518, ed. L. Pastor, 1905, pp. 159-160. Travellers also visited the village of St. Zacharias, where were our Lady's slipper and other relics, including, according to my anonymous traveller of 1647, "the crowne of the head of one of the Innocents," p. 111.

of the Lying In of the Virgin Mary, and the Reliques of Mary Magdalene, so that it is esteemed by all Catholickes to be one of the most famousest place[s] for Devotion in all France, which drawes multitudes of People on Festival dayes to this place.

Passing by this Mountaine, where wee had only a sight of the place a farr off, wee lay that night at a place called Rouziers, some 4 leagues from the place where wee dined.

The next morning wee went on our Journye, and ²⁴ dined at a place called Brinole,¹ some 3 leagues off, where growes a kind of white Plombes, Accounted the best that are in France, and which take their name from the place, and of which the People of the Towne drye and putt up in Boxes, and send them into other parts of France, which brings much profit to them.

Brignoles

From thence wee went six leagues further, being absolutely the worst way that is in the kingdome of France,² where wee lay that night, being a little village seated upon the side of a mountaine.

The next Morning, being the 25 November, wee ²⁵ departed on our Journye and dined 3 leagues from thence. Afterwards wee passed for 4 leagues together on the topp of A very high mountaine encompassed al about with trees, where growes a great quantity of greene Oakes, of which the People of the Countrey make much Corke and send into other Parts. Passing out of this Mountaine, wee went 2 leagues further, and lay at a Village called Canne,³ which is seated by the sea side.

Cannes

¹ Brignoles. Compare Ed Browne, *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, 1 p 102. "The prunella trees growe about the fields."

² My anonymous traveller of 1647 writes. "On the same day as wee were travelling betwixt Ste Baume and St. Maximin, one of our company, riding up a craggy steep way, fell on his back with his horse on the top of him, without any harme; the viturin presently told him that Ste. Mary M had been a good friend to him there, but hee thanked God."

³ Cannes, then only a small trading port. A de Beatis describes it as a small hamlet with a few houses, but offering lovely views and a very beautiful climate *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, ed. L. Pastor, 1905, p. 163.

1658—Nov. 26

Antibes

The next Morning wee parted from Canne, and rid al along the sea side and passed by the wals of Antibo,¹ some two leagues of from the place wee lay at, and which is the last City that the King of France hath on that side of the Countrey, being called the key of France, wherein is a Governour and garrison for the king. The Cittidal [*sic*] is encompassed about with a Cittidel and Castle, having another Castle seated on a high Mountaine over against it.

Riding from thence al along by the sea side some 4 leagues, wee came to A River that seperates France from Savoye, where wee were faine to embarke ourselves and horses in A Boate to passe over, and so came into Piedimont, where having rid one league further, wee came to the City of Nice,² which belongs to the Duke of Savoy.

Nice

27 Nice is a very strong place, having a Cittadel built upon a Rocke, wherein is alwayes a Garrison to maintaine the place. The People of this Towne make much profit of there Oranges and leamons which grow here in abundance and are as common as apples and pearres in England, which they send to other Parts in cheasts loden upon Mules.

28 Wee departed from Niece, it being Sunday, and were forced to hier Mules, the wayes being so bad that no horses can goe them. When wee were at Niece wee were told of the badnesse of the wayes, but no person alive can Imagine them to be so bad as they are, for wee

¹ Compare my anonymous traveller of 1647, p. 119: "Wee dined at Antibes, a very strong port towne defended by 2 very regular Cittadells and a good wall about the Towne."

² "Nice, a faire towne, situated on the sea shore having no port. *Anon* 1647, p. 121. A de Beatis remarks on its lovely women, and tells us that it is called Nizza, according to common opinion, because it stands neither here nor there, 'non sta ne za ne lla,' neither in Italy nor in France, but on the confines of both, its arms being an eagle with one foot raised, 'che non posa in nùn loco.'" *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, 1517-1518, ed. L. Pastor, 1905, p. 164.

were forced to climbe up Rockes upon our Mules' Backes all the way for some 30 leagues together, and such terrible and dangerous wayes wee mett withal that it would make the stoutest man alive to tremble in passing them, It being indeed accounted by All Travellers absolutely the worst way in Europe.¹

Having rid 5 leagues of this dangerous way, - wee dined at a place called Menten,² a little Citty belonging to the Prince of Monaco, wee passing by that Citty whereof the Prince takes his Title and keepes his residence,³ which, as farr as wee could discerne of it, seemes to be wel replenished with houses and very large, being Just built by the Sea side. Wee could also discern the Princes Pallace,⁴ which seemed to be very stately and magnificent.

Mentone

In this Place, where wee dined, I thought wee were come into a new world, in regard of the strange habit of the People,⁵ especially of the Women, who use here, and in other Parts higher up in the Countrey, great Rowles about their middle and other strange Attire, which to strangers seemes very ridiculous, yet in some parts of Italy they are clad after the French and English fashion.

¹ A de Beatis describes this road as not having a palm's breadth of good going, only the most precipitous mountains everywhere. *Op cit*, p 167. Pero Tafur (1435-1439) is too early a traveller to be used to illustrate Mortoft, but he coasted along this shore, and describes it as the most beautiful in the world. To anyone who did not know it, it appeared to be one continuous city, so populous was it, and so densely packed with houses. *Andanças e Viajes*, Madrid, 1874, p 11

² Mentone

³ There is a long description of Monaco by A de Beatis in 1517-1518. It was then very strongly fortified and possessed one heavily armed vessel which levied toll on small vessels as they passed. *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, ed L Pastor, 1905, p 168

⁴ A Renaissance building with crenelated towers, still shown.

⁵ Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, i. p 96, has an amusing description of the dress of the ladies in this part of Italy, who "go like the Donnas of Spayne in Guardinfantas, that is, in horrible overgrowne vertigals of whale-bone, which being put about the waste of the Lady, and full as broad on both sides, as she can reach with her hands, beare out her coats in such a huffing manner that she appears to be as broad as long." There is much more of the same kind. Lassels never knew when to leave a jest alone

1658—Nov. 28

Ventimiglia?

Departing from thence wee rid some three leagues further of this terrible dangerous way, where wee lay that night, which is a place belonging to the States of Gennes,¹ being A little [*sic*] and built upon a very high Rocke, having a great River running close by the wals of it. Wee were faine to lodge out of the Citty, their being no provision for strangers in it, In regard the dangerousnesse of the wayes makes it so little frequented, where wee found but bad lodging and worse provision.

San Remo

29 But passing the night over in sleeping, wee departed from thence the next Morning, where wee ride over as bad and troublesome way as the former, and having rid 4 leagues, wee came to A little Citty called Remes,² where wee dined, and in which place growes a great Company of Palme trees, which the Inhabitants seeme to take much delight in, In regard of the care they take to preserve them. This place also abounds in Oranges and Leamons. A man as he rides along may, if he will, gather as many as he please, there being whole Orchards and field[s] for many miles to gether ful of nothing else but of these kind of trees.

Oneglia

Having dined here, wee departed from thence, and rid through the mountains till wee came to A Citty called Onelia,³ which is a very pretty place belonging to the Duke of Savoy, where wee lay the night, and some 4 leagues from the former place.

Alassio

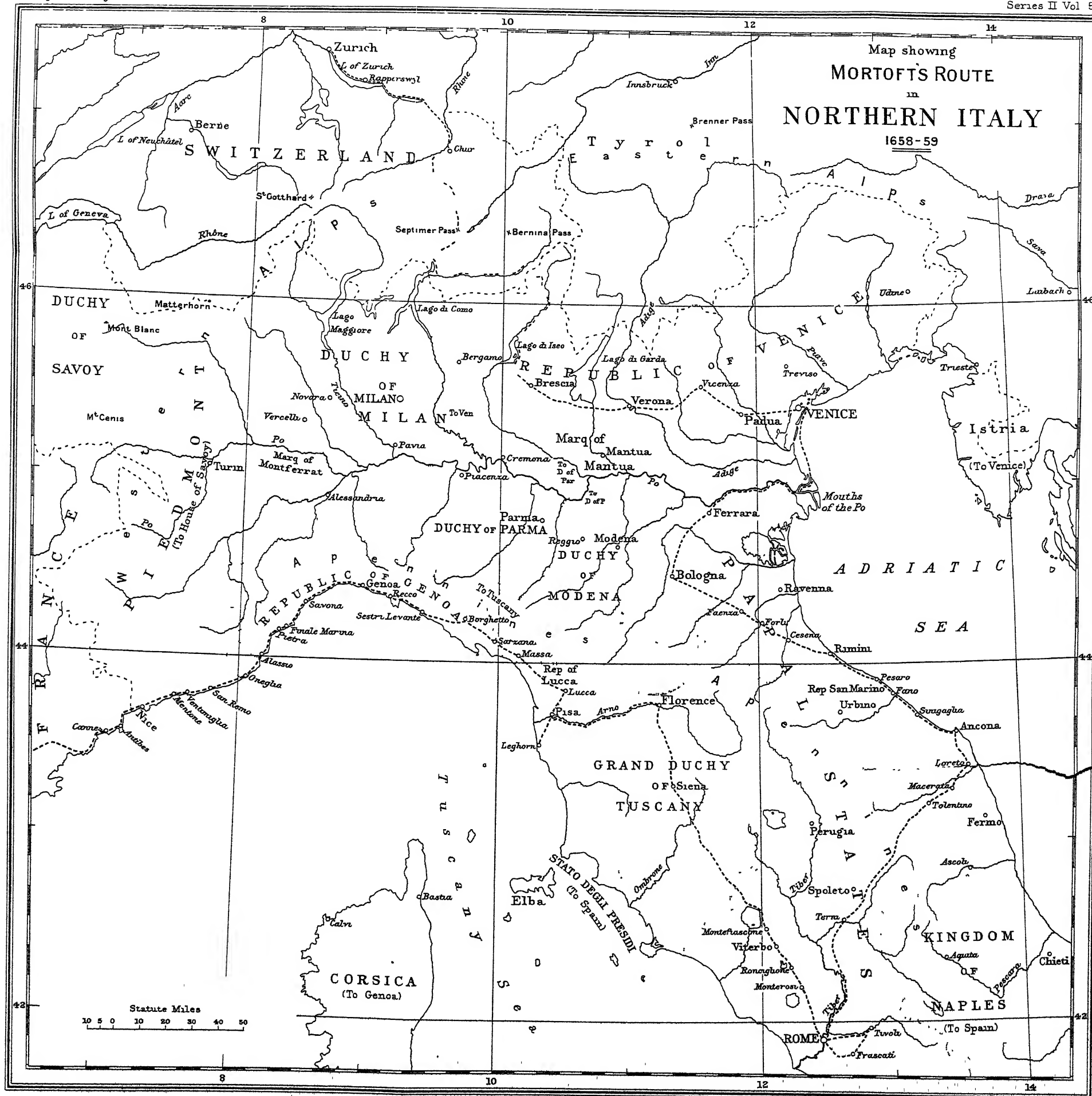
30 Departing from thence the next morning, wee dined at a Place called Frasse,⁴ about 5 leagues off, belonging

¹ Probably Ventimiglia. Compare A de Beatis, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

² San Remo. A. de Beatis also notices the abundance of palms from which Genoa, Florence and Rome are supplied, "et quelle fanno così bianche et tenere, tenendole legate molto strecte per tucto l'anno," pp. 168-169. Compare Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage* (1654) in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale de Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1906, vol. III. p. 256: "On voit icy une prodigieuse quantité d'oranges et de citrons, plus que dans aucun autre endroict où j'ay passé et on les estime aussi pour la bonté."

³ Oneglia.

⁴ Probably Alassio.



to Gennes, the Mountaines all along as wee rid being very full of Olive trees, whereof those of the Inhabitants thereabouts make much oyle. From thence wee rid to Fria,¹ a place in the Genova's possession, some 4 leagues from the place where wee dined, and lay there the night, and were forced to stay there al the next day, in regard of the foulness of the wether and dangerousness of the way. This little place, as many more of the Cittyes belonging to the Mountaines, is seated close by the sea side, but nothing is worth the remarking unlesse the bad disposition of the people.

Pietra

The next Morning, being the 1st of December, wee departed from thence, and rid through a very pretty Citty called Final, belonging to the Spanyards,² but before wee had Permission to passe through this Citty wee were constrained to gett a passe from the Governour of the Citty, which cost a French Crowne of gold a head, or else there is no stranger suffered to passe. Passing through this Citty, wherein is a very fine and strong Cittadel, wee mett with extreame dangerous way over Rockes and Mountaines as formerly, yet through God's mercy wee rid to A Place called Savone,³ where wee dined, and some 6 leagues from the place where wee lay the

1 Dec.

*Finale
Marina*

Savona

¹ Pria = Pietra

² This must be Finale Marina. The town passed, at the end of the 15th century, to the Spanish Kings and was strongly fortified by them. The fortifications were dismantled by the Genoese when they acquired the marquisate by purchase in 1713. Evelyn coasted by it, and writes: "A very fair and strong town belonging to the King of Spain, for which reason a monsieur in our vessel was extremely afraid, as was the patron of our bark, for they frequently catch French prizes as they creep by these shores to go into Italy." *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 52.

³ Savona. There is a long description of the town in A. de Beatis, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, 1905, p. 170. Lassels, in the *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whetenall* (1650), British Museum Add. MS. 4217, f. 15, says: "The last yeare a Thunder bolt falling upon a greate rounde Towre in the Towne, where the Magazine of powder was kept and setting it on fire, blew upp a greate parte of the Towne and killed many people." De Beatis (p. 171) also describes the road from Savona to Genoa as the most dangerous in the world, with twisted paths beset by precipices, the going being so bad that in a space of 15 miles the beasts had to be shod four or five times.

night before. This Citty is a very pretty place, built close by the sea side, having a Cittadel with a Governour and Garrison belonging to it.

Departing from hence, wee rid some 2 leagues further, where wee lay the night, and the next day, departing from thence and riding some 6 or 7 leagues farther, wee arrived at Gennes, the Principal Citty belonging to the states of Genovay.

Genoa

Genoa, or Gennes, is a very large and stately Citty, having without doubt as faire and gallant Houses and Pallaces as any Citty in Christendome.¹

When wee first entered into the suburbs, some 3 miles before wee came to the gates of the Towne, wee saw all the way fild with very stately and fine Pallaces,²

¹ During the 17th century Genoa still preserved its traditions of republican independence. It acted as the financial agent of Spain and acquired considerable profit thereby. D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 390. Mortoft saw it before the bombardment in 1684, and it must have been a delightful place. Lassels, *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whetenall*, 1650, Add MS 4217 f. 15, writes "Genoa is one of the fairest Townes of Italy and deservedly surnamed La Superba, the proud. Its seated upon the shoare of the Meditterman Sea and built upon a hill side, which makes it looke like an Amphitheatre to those that behold it from the sea. Its the second Republique of Italie . . . Its governed like Venice by a Duke and Senators. Andria d'Orna, that famous Sea Comander, was hee that put this Republique out of pay and made it free. It was under the French before and is jealous still of the French, having discovered many designs and secrett attempts of the French against it. For this reason the Inhabitants leane all together to the Spanish faction." Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p. 82 ff.; Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage*, 1654, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale de Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1906, vol. III p. 253; Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 53; Howell's *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, I p. 91; Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 10; John Ray, *Travels* (c. 1663) ed. of 1738, vol. I. p. 216. The writer of *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, XII p. 125, adds. "You shall not find in any city in all Italy so many velvet-weavers as in Genoa, they say there are at least eight-thousand; but not any one of them is able to gain to themselves one piece of velvet in a whole year's space, so narrowly are they looked unto by the merchants."

² Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whetenall*, fo. 16a: "As for Pallaces, all Italy affords noe better for pleasantnesse then in the Arena a quarter of a Mile out of the Towne along the seaside, where marble and painting, statuas and pictures, gardens and water works, hills and walkes over looking the sea, doe make the Arena, for halfe a mile togeather, looke like one great enchanted Castle, soe that wee durst scarce bless our selves, least that fine sight should have vanished away."

which indeed would make a man wonder how man should be able to contrive such rare and superb Buildings, and yet onely belonging to some Marchants and Gentlemen of Gennes And withal wee observed, as wee came a long the sea side, Certaine Crosses which stood some 20 Rods opposite against one another, where in the tyme of the Plague, which was rife in this Citty about 2 yeares agoe,¹ they made holes in the Earth and put 3 or 4,000 dead Bodyes in those places, for want of other places to bury them in.

As wee entered into the Citty, wee were demanded our Pistols by the souldiers of the Guard, none Being admitted to enter into the Citty with such kind of Armes. And noe person that is a stranger being suffered to weare A sword above three dayes within the Towne, for feare of any mischief, yet many Gentlemen and others weare their daggers behind them, whereby they take their opportunity to revenge themselves of those that have done them but a seeming Injury² As wee entered Into the Towne wee saw the Pallace of the Prince Doria,³ which indeed is a very stately Building, there being A very fine garden belonging to it, where in the middle of it is a water worke, And on one side of it a Birdcage made by the Old Prince, the like is scarce to be found againe in Europe, It being made the whole length of the Garden and incompassed in with wier, having a good quantity of trees growing in it, where the Pheasants, Partridges, and other kind of Birds live, not as in a Cage, but as it were in a field.

¹ Genoa was ravaged by a dreadful plague from June, 1656, to September, 1657, some 67,000 persons having perished R W Carden, *Genoa*, 1908, pp 182 ff

² Compare Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage*, 1654, in Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Rome, 1906, vol. III. p. 253. "La jalousie y règne comme ailleurs. Les assassinats y sont fréquents et surtout entre le peuple c'est pourquoy on leur défend les armes Je me suis néanmoins laissé dire d'un gentilhomme de la République qu'il croyoit que dans le République de Gennes se faisoient plus de meurtres en un an que dans tout le reste de l'Italie."

³ Given to the great Andrea Doria in 1522, and rebuilt by him. The house, gardens and aviary are fully described in Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1 p 91, and Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 54.

There is also a very fine Pallace¹ belonging to the Duke, who is a handsome old Man, and enjoys the Government onely for two yeares, and being of no power to doe any thing without the consent of the senate²

In this Pallace there is a very fine Armory,³ which is worth the seing by All strangers, being accounted one of the Best in Italy, there being armour enough, if need were, to suffice 50,000 Men.

Here in this Pallace also Every stranger that lodges in the Citty is to have a Bulleteen, or else, if any Person lodges any stranger without it, that person so offending is to forfeit 300 Crownes of gold, which makes Persons very cautious to lodge any Person without a Bulleteen from the Pallace.⁴

We observed many other most stately and magnificent Pallaces, the worst of which might be sufficient to entertaine any great Prince, which makes it to be noted that the Genovais take more delight in stately Buildings then any other Nations in the world, and which is the cause that soe few of them travel abroad, in regard they think noe Citty comparable to Gennes, Any Gentleman in this Citty counting it almost A death to him, if he be banished out of it for a short tyme, Though in the tyme of the Plague they were constrained to depart, the City then being almost desolate, where it is credibly reported

¹ The Palazzo Ducale, the old residence of the Doges, originally a 13th century building of which a tower survives, and remodelled after a fire in 1777. The Doge was Jean Baptiste Centurioné 1658, Oct —1660.

² The government, "according to the new laws made by the Pope's Legate and the Emperor's and King of Spain's Ambassadors not long after the time of Andreas Doria," is fully described in John Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, vol. 1 p. 217.

³ On the armoury, see Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1. p. 90; Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 54.

⁴ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whetenall*, Add. MS. 4217, f. 16a. "Strangers are much Looked upon here and observed. They cannot Lodge without a Bullet, and that must bee renewed frequently from tyme to tyme. Noe man must weare a sword here without expresse Lycence"

that above 100,000 People died out of this very place, and many thousands besides in the countryes subject to it.¹

The Churches in this Citty are also as stately, for the most Part, as the houses, especially one of them, begun to be built by a Gentleman some 40 yeares agoe,² who to make it as stately as possible Art and Estate of man could forward it, spent his whole Estate, which was very great, upon the building of it, and after his death left it to his Brother and generation, which to this day are in building of it, to make it outvye all other Churches, it being not as yet finished. But any person that enters into it cannot but be astonished at such a stately Building. All the sealing is painted with very curious and lively Pictures, that the like was never seene in any Church before. All the Pillars in the Church are of pure fine Marble, and at one of the Altars at the upper end of the Church, on the right hand, are 4 such Rare pillars of Marble, and wherein is shewne so much Art in carving them, that if there were nothing else to make the Church commended, this were alone to make it famous.

There is also A Church belonging to the Jesuits³ which is almost made in the same manner, though not soe Rich, yet all the Pillars in the Church being of very fine Marble, having very Rich Altars all about it, at the Biggest of which are two very great silver Candlestickes, being to my apprehension at least 2 yds and $\frac{1}{2}$ high a piece. In this Church wee heard the most ravishingst

¹ On this plague, see above p. 41, note ¹

² The Annunciata, "which draweth up the Ladder after it for neatness" Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p. 87. It was built and decorated at the expense of the Lomellini family, formerly sovereigns of the island of Tabarca off the North Coast of Africa, which they held until 1741.

³ The church of Sant' Ambrogio, or di Gesù, also a private undertaking, having been built at the expense of the Pallavicini family. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I. p. 88.

musicke¹ that wee ever heard in our lives, performed by 3 or 4 Eunuchs and singing Masters, with the Organs, Base Viols and Trumpets; these going all together made such melodious musicke as any person could possibly desire.

There are also many other stately Churches; at one, which is counted the great Church,² I counted above 60 silver lamps hanging all together about one Altar

There is also a very fine Port belonging to this Place, which is always replenished with ships which comes from other Countreyes to vend their Comodotyees, and lad[e]s those which the Citty yeelds.

Recco

Wee having stayed here some dayes, wee departed
6 from thence on the 6th of December, not finding any
conveniency to Livorne by sea, and so were constrained
to hier Mules, and lay that Night at a Place called Pecco,³
some 12 Miles from Gennes, A little Towne built by the sea
side.

*Sestri
Levante*

7 The next day wee went to Sostria de Levant,⁴ 18
miles from the other place, which is a place belonging to
the Genovais and seated between the Mountains, yet
having the sea running by it.

Matarana

The next Morning wee rid all a long on the Mountains,
being then covered with snow, where wee run much
danger, being forced to clime up the snowy Mountains
and slide them downe upon our horses backes, and at
last came to A place called Matarana where wee dined.
In which place, and in others as wee rid along, we tooke

¹ Compare Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage* (1654), in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1906, vol. III. p. 250
"La pluspart de la noblesse vient icy faire leur dévotion . . . pour l'amour de la musique qu'on dit y estre fort bonne" Mortoft's love of music finds expression later at Rome

² Doubtless the Cathedral dedicated to S. Lorenzo, consecrated in 1118 by Pope Gelasius III, and restored about 1300.

³ Recco.

⁴ Sestri Levante.

the mountainous People to be like Devils in the shape of Men. Every Poore fellow having his dagger by his side, and staring and swearing as if they were all Princes, and indeed counting themselves Princes of those Mountains, which when they see their oppertunity, they make nothing to inrich themselves by the spoyles of Passengers ; where it was told us by those that went with us to shew us the way, that in that place where wee passed, which was up a hugh, high Mountaine between two Rockes, that within few yeares there was as much gold and silver taken from Passengers by these Mountainous People as would Load halfe a dozen Mules.

After wee had dined wee departed from this dismal place, and lay that night at a place called Borghetto, a little rotten Village in the mountains, where, after a hard and Pittiful lodging, wee departed next Morning, and dined at a Place called Serrezzana,¹ being the last Citty that the Genovais have in their Possession on that side. It is a good strong Citty, and incompassed about with wals, having a Governour and garrison to defend it. When wee were at this place wee were pretty well out of the Mountains, and it seemed that wee were come again into the Christian World.

Borghetto

Sarzana

After wee had dined wee rid as far as Massa,² which is some 8 Miles from the former place, and a little Principality, whereof the Prince that hath it in possession takes his Title, and holding some 40 miles about it. It is a very pretty Citty, encompassed about with Wals, having continually a Guard at the Gates. In this place the Prince hath his Pallace where he keepes his Residence.

Massa

¹ Sarzana

² The Duchy of Massa passed to Modena in 1829 Compare John Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, p. 220 " Massa is but a small city, yet hath it a Prince of its own, who is lord also of Carrara, whose chief revenues arise from the marble quarries" Also Ed. Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1 p. 75 : " Massa, well situated on the side of an hill in sight of the sea, the princes garden is the most remarkable where the orange trees and myrtles grow to a vast bignese."

Wee observed, as wee rid along the Mountaines, that for some 60 Mile together they were al covered with Chest nutt Trees, whereof the People of these Mountains makes Chesnut Bread, which suffices them in stead of other.

Lucca

10 Departing from Massa, wee rid that day to Lucques,¹ some 26 mile from Massa, which is one of the Prettiest contrivedst Cittyes in Italy and a free Common wealth, those of the Towne choosing a Duke every two Months, which they take and carry to the Pallace, where he is not suffered to speake with his wife and Childeren all the while of his government.²

There are 3 Gate's belonging to this Citty, at every one of which is a guard of souldiers. The Citty is encompassed about with a strong wall, upon which is a great Banke of Earth cast up as high as the wall of the Breadth of two Couches, which also goes quite round the Citty, which is some two mile round, being a very fine and

¹ Lucca preserved its independence until the time of Napoleon. It made a great impression on all travellers at this time. Lassels calls it "a prety little Commonwealth, and yet it sleeps quietly within the bosome of the Great Dukes State" *Voyage of Italy*, i. p. 225, compare Ed Browne in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, i p. 75, Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed), p. 111, Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage* (1654), in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1906, vol. iii pp. 242 ff., Howell's *Letters*, ed Jacobs i p. 92, Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 81. A charming account is given by Montaigne, *Travels* 1580-1581, English translation, 1903, iii pp. 32-35; 132-138. John Ray, *Travels*, ed of 1738, i p. 221, writes "The buildings of the city good; the churches though not great, yet as well kept and handsomely adorned within side as a man shall see any: the streets cleanly and well paved. in a word, all things, both within and without the city very trim and polite. Both citizens and country men are very courteous and well mannered, and seem both by their habit and address, and the cheerfulness of their looks, to live more freely and in better condition and to have more spirit and courage then the other people of Italy." Richard Chiswell (1697) describes Lucca as "a pretty well-built happy little town." Add. MS. 10,623. See my abstract in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. i. p. 263. Compare *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, xii. p. 123.

² John Ray, i. p. 223, also describes the government "by a great council of 160, annually chosen out of the nobility . . . nine Antiani and a Gonfalonere. The Antiani and Gonfalonere are chosen a-new every two months. These are called the Signoria, and must live in the palace during the time of their office and authority."

delightful walke, which those of the Towne often make use off.¹

In this Towne, on the Sabbath day, wee heard most sweet and ravishing Musicke, and saw two young Gentlewomen drest like Queenes, who kneeld before an Altar of the Great Church, and afterwards went to other Churches of the Towne, where they performed the like Devotion, and then were stript of all their fine Apparrel, and the habit of Nuns put upon them, and so put into one of the strictest Nunneryes of the Towne, where they can never have permission to see or speake with any of their Acquaintance as long as they live.

There are also some Nunneryes of the Towne where it it easye for any stranger to speake with the Nuns ; which wee did, and saw a very handsome one, it being great pittty that so much beauty and sperit as she seemed to have should be pend up so unprofitably in so teadious a Prison.

Departing from Lucques the 12th of December, wee dined at Pisa, some 10 mile from Lucques, and so tooke ¹² Coach and went that day to Livorne, which is some 15 Miles from Pisa.

Livorne² is a very fine and handsome Towne, though the Ill lives of the Inhabitants doe some what defame it.

Leghorn

¹ The fortifications, dating from 1564-1650, are still well-preserved. To quote John Ray again, 1 p 222 " This city is very vigilant and careful to preserve its liberty , tho' they have three gates, they permit strangers to enter in and go out only at one, that so they may more easily know what number are in the city, for fear of a surprise."

² Leghorn was an unpleasant place in the 17th century, but owed its size and importance to the Medici, who invited all the discontented and oppressed from all parts, Roman Catholics from England, Jews and Moors from Spain and Portugal, and others to settle there and build. Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (Reprint) 1. p. 315, calls it a sanctuary for offenders, "and filled with Citizens guilty of crimes and of no civill conversation" The mixed population undoubtedly gave it a bad reputation, but it was a great maritime and mercantile town, and a free port to all comers Howell's *Letters*, ed. Jacobs 1. p. 90. Compare Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 84 ; Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 24 : "tis but little, yet the great concourse of Merchants which flow thither from all Nations, chiefly from my own, make it more spoken of than many Cities of a larger extent." John Ray.

It hath a very fine Port belonging to it, being all the Port townes belonging to the great Duke of Florence, where reside many English Marchants and men of other Nations, which is the cause that it is of greatest reput for trade of any Port Towne in Europe. It is a place of great strength, wherein is alwayes A Governour and Garrison to defend the place.

There is at the Port a statue of 4 Turkish slaves,¹ the father and 3 Sons, with the Old Duke's statue on the topp, made in remembrance of the Miraculous Act of those Slaves in rowing away themselves one of the Dukes galleyes some 20 miles from the Port, which is a thing almost incredible when a hundred Men is always employed about such a businesse.

Here wee saw two Comedyes Acted, one of which was done in Musicke, and indeed performed with such sweete and lively voyces that it gave very great satisfaction to al that were present at it.

The Marchants in the Middle of the Towne have a very convenient place to meete in,² where one shal hardly meete with any but English Men.

Travels, ed. of 1738, 1 p 226, says This town is not large, and but low built, yet very pleasant and uniform, having streight streets and a spacious piazza in the middle It stands in an open level, without mountain or hillock within five miles of it on any side Nic Stone, Jr., 1638, speaks of Leghorn as being "very pleasant, having the streets crossing each other at right angles, the houses all painted with fresco" Walpole Society's Volume, 1918-1919, p 160 Compare Ed. Browne in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin 1 p 76.

¹ This statue is still to be seen. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1. p. 233; Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p 25.

² Compare Raymond, p 25-26 "The great place is very beautiful, and fit for the assemblies of Marchants On the houses round about, and in the fairest streets are pictured all the battels and victories of the great Duke's gallies obtained over the Turks which a slave did to gaine his redemption" Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 57, gives an unpleasant picture of this piazza "with such a concourse of slaves, Turks, Moors and other nations that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked and miserably chained." Adjoining was a tent where any idle fellow could gamble away his liberty. If he lost he was carried off to the galleyes.

The Towne is pretty wel replenished with those kind of Creatures which devote themselves to the pleasures of others for money, where they have so much worke that they make many of the Inhabitants looke very leane upon it.

Parting from Ligorne on the 18th of December to 17 Pisa,¹ wee arrived there the same day that the Grand Duke invited the English at Lighorne to hunt with him in his Parke, where wee got horses and went to Pertake of the same sport, and afterwards pertooke of some of those provisions that he sent to the English, to whome he is very Civil, which is thought to proceed from the great profit that comes to him by there trafficque.

The next day wee went about the Towne, where wee 18 tooke notice of a Tower,² which is built sideways, and looking on it one would imagine it to be falling every moment, and yet built very strong.

Then wee entered into the Church adjoyning to it,³ which indeed is a very stately and rare piece, having 6 great Gates of Massy Brasse, very curiously wrought, upon the out sides, and in the great Chappel is very fine worke, al the top of it being done with Mosaicke worke in an exceeding lively manner.

Then wee went into a place over against it that is made for the Christning of Children,⁴ built round with stones

¹ There is an excellent account of Pisa in John Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, i. p. 224; compare Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 18; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, i. p. 228, Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 56; Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 83. Compare *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, xii, p. 122. "When you come to this city you shall be searched under the gate to see what you carry with you. Say nothing but only that you are students and put a piece of money into one of their hands secretly and they will let you pass."

² The Campanile, begun in 1174 and completed in 1350. It is now generally accepted that its slope was not intentional, but that the foundations of the South side sank during the building.

³ The Cathedral, consecrated 1118 and restored 1597-1604 after a fire in 1595.

⁴ The Baptistery, dating from 1153, but not completed until 1278, with Gothic additions of the 14th century, "covered with so artificial a cupola that the voice uttered under it seems to break out of a cloud" Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 56.

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of Marble and exceding high, so that in talking to one another one's voyce redoubles again with the Ecco.

Afterwards wee went into the holy place,¹ as they cal it, where they bury Most of the great Persons, and where, they say, the Earth of the place, about an Ell deep, was brought from Jerusalem thither in a shipp, and consumes the bodyes that are there buried in 24 houres. Wee also went Into the Phisicke Garden,² which is a very large and spacious place, where I observed that the alleyes about the garden were al covered with Mosse, and wherein is a tree which, they say, if any Person sleepees under the shadow of it, he never wakes more.

There are many Pallaces in this Towne of Pisa which is very large, but that of the Gran Dukes³ is the stateliest and largest, which is built close by the Riverside which runs al along on the side of the Towne.

From Pisa, wee tooke Coach the same day in the Afternoone and lay some 17 Mile from Pisa. The next
 19 day wee rid 23 mile and so came to the Great City of
 Florence
 Florence, taking notice by the way of the sweetnesse and pleasantnesse of the Countrye, where al along as wee went, the Ground was for the most part ful of trees, and not a tree that had not a Vine growing on it, whereby all the

¹ The Campo Santo. Archbishop Ubaldo de' Lanfranchi in 1203 brought 53 shiploads of earth from Jerusalem in order that the dead might lie in holy ground. The special property of the earth to consume bodies is referred to by many travellers. See e.g. Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 20, Reresby, *Travels*, Dryden House Memoirs, p. 84 (with additional unpleasant details).

² The Botanical Garden is one of the oldest in Italy. It was founded in 1547, remodelled in 1563, and transferred to its present site in 1595. Compare Ed. Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed Wilkin, I p. 76: "Wee saw Bartolus his hous, and the physick garden, over which is written, hic Argus esto, non Briareus; 'tis a long square, not well furnished with plants, nor yet very big." My anonymous traveller of 1647 says: "There is a fine gardin of Simples where there is a plant under which if a man sleepe 2 hours he dyes."

³ Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 56: "The Duke has a stately Palace before which is placed a statue of Ferdinand the Third: over against it is the Exchange built of marble."

Countrie is served with the wyne which is called Florence wyne, and is so much esteemed by the women in England in regard of the pleasantnesse of the Taste.¹

Florence² is a very faire and large Citty, being counted some 9 miles in compasse, and about as bigg as the Citty of Rouen in France: the streets also are very lãrge and straight, and paved with such large stones that they are sieldome dirty. The truth is, It is so fine and well built a Citty, that noe place in the world could invite any stranger more to take up his residence in any place then in this Citty.

The Duke's Gallery,³ that is soe much commended by 20 all persons that have seene it, is indeed farr more Rich then any Person can Imagine or discribe. A little before

¹ Compare Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, I p 321 "That being done my Lord's coach waited for us, and so back to my Lady's, where she made me drink of some Florence wine, and did give me two bottles for my wife"

² Florence is described by practically every 17th century traveller. See e.g. Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 57, Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, I p. 278, Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p 28; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p 155, Reresby, *Travels* (Dryden House Memoirs), p 67. There is a long description by Nic Stone Jr. (1638) in Walpole Society's Volume, 1918-1919, pp. 160 ff. Lassels in his *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whetenall*, 1650, Add. MS., 4217, fo. 19, says: "A moderne Prince (the Arch-Duke Charles) said it was a Towne onely to bee seene upon Holydayes, being to fine a sight for working dayes" Reresby, *Travels* (p 67) says that the compliment was paid by a Venetian Ambassador. Sir Hy Wotton referred to Florence as "a paradise inhabited by devils" *Letters*, ed. by L. P. Smith, Oxford, 1907, I p 21. But he was a politician and had more than his share of Italian knaves and spies. The city was now dwindling into provincialism. "Long before the eighteenth century the city of Dante and Machiavelli had become the stronghold of insipid poetasters and graceful idlers" D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p 390. It still, however, made an excellent impression on most travellers, with its well-paved streets and beautiful buildings, but the paper windows, for the most part broken and tattered, were a disgrace. Glass was very rarely used, except in Venice. See Burnet, *Travels* (ed. 1750), p 112. Ed. Browne, *Travels*, 2nd ed., 1685, p 165, while at Prague, with its fine glazed houses, recalls the tattered and ragged paper windows at Florence. Compare *Letters of the Earl of Perth* (1696), Camden Society, 1845, p. 107: "The paper in their windows instead of glass looks but scurvily."

³ The Uffizi Gallery. The idea of making the Uffizi into a picture gallery was first conceived by Francesco I (1541-1587). Under his direction and that of his successors the open terrace, the top storey of the building, was roofed in, and the treasures, including those from the

one enters into it, one may see the statue of Cosmus, one of the Great Dukes, in Marble,¹ and by it a very fine Fountaine,² then at the first entry into it, going up some 40 or 50 degrees, one may see all along on both sides of it the heads of Certaine Romans and other great Persons, and some made by that rare Engraver Isaac Angelo, with the head of himselfe also in Brasse. There is also the Picture of the Dead Lord Protector of England, though nothing like him, As also the Picture of the great Duke and Duchesse, and many other statues and Pictures of great Persons. At the Upper end of one side of the Gallery is the statue of Cupid made of A touch stone,³ there [are] also hanging over head the Pictures of many of the kings of France and Emperors of Turkey.

Then a doore was opened close by it, when wee entered into A Rome which is all full of most precious things.

The first thing wee looked upon was a great round Table made of Jasper, enchased all about with Rubyes and Diamonts, and is esteemed to be inestimable.

Then wee [saw] the outside of a Very great Cabinett, being all full of Medals of Gold, Diamonds and Precious stones, which is never opened to noe Person. Then wee saw all manner of household [] that any Lady has use of, made al in Ivory. There are also in this Rome many rare and precious things which can breede nothing but wonder in a man to consider the great treasure incloased in this Rome.

Villa Medici at Rome, were placed there. A passagio, which now opens into the western gallery, the roof of which can still be seen, wound downwards across the Ponte Vecchio to the Palazzo Pitti, and formed a corridor of communication between the two palaces. The collection is fully described in Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 58; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, i. p. 160; Misson, *Voyage*, ed. of 1714, II. pt. I, p. 280.

¹ The equestrian statue of Cosimo I, in bronze, by Giov. da Bologna (1594)

² The famous Neptune fountain by Ammanati and his contemporaries, finished 1575.

³ Basanite, a black siliceous variety of quartz

From thence wee went into another Chamber, where are 12 Persian Chaires, which were sent as a present to the Grand Duke from the Emperor of Persia. There is in this Rome a very high and rich Cabinett, esteemed to be worth 80,000 Crownes, where are to be seene the effigies of the 12 Apostles and some other saints done all in Amber, enchased all about with Rubyes and Diamonds. There is also a very rich table of Jasper, done in Mosaicke worke and over laid with Rubyes, Pearles and Diamonds; there are also many Rare and precious things, which to behold Punctually would take up many houres, and therefore I shal passe them over.

From this Chamber wee went into Another where wee saw two most Rich Tables, sett about at the 4 Corne[r]s with Rowes of Pearls and Diamonds, Also wee saw there A very fine Cage, made after a very strange fashion, the like was hardly ever seene by any stranger. Here are also two very large Globes, which show the discription of the whole world, and many other rare curiosities worthy to be taken notice off by all strangers.

From thence wee went into A chamber, Richer by farr then those wee had yet seene, the very entrance into the Chamber would even astonish a man at the sight of so much treasure, and yet nothing to those things that are inclosed about the Rome, made in manner of presses.

There is, at the upper end, as Rich a Cabinett as the greatest Monarche in the world can desire, made after such an admarable fashion, and inlaid over with such large Rubyes of all Colours, Diamonds, Pearles, and other precious stones, that it is invaluable. There are soe many Rich and precious things in the very Romes, both those that are visible, and those that are enclosed in the wals, that one would esteeme the great Duke for the Richest Prince in Christendome.

There are in this Rome three very Rich Tables made of the stone that is called Lapis Lazurus, enchased al about with Pearles and precious stones.

Then wee went into A Chappell adjoyning to those Chambers, where there is such A rare Altar, that the like was never made before for any Church since the Apostles' tyme. It is made all of the purest Jasper and very curiously polished, and set all about with great Diamonds, Pearles and Rubyes, and in many places with Lapis Lazurus The rarenesse and richnesse of this Altar is such that none can Imagine anything to be more curious and rich then it And it is to be placed in a Chappell, which wee afterwards saw,¹ that the Grand Duke is in building, which when finished it may take the preheminance of all the rare Buildings In the world, and may be wel counted one of the world's wonders. All the Wals about this Chappel being of Jasper inlaid with Lapis Lazarus, Pearles and Diamonds. There are also the statues of some of the great Dukes set up in this Chapel, where one may see the Crownes that are at there feete, sett abound [*sic*] with Rich and precious stones.

This Chappell hath beene 60 yeares already in building, and it is thought it may be many more yeares be fore it be finished, In regard the Duke growes something weary of being at the Vast charge which the building puts him too, yet there are daily men at worke about it, soe that in tyme it may be brought to perfection, which when it is, it will exceede all buildings that have beene made or will be made for the tyme to come, and may be wel counted the wonder of Christendome.

After wee had seene the Altar, wee went into the Armory, where wee saw all sorts of Armour both for men and horse, and all kind of weapons.

¹ The Chapel of the Princes in the Church of S Lorenzo, the burial place of the Grand Dukes, begun in 1604 on a magnificent scale, but not even now completed. A new floor was begun in 1888. A sum of £880,000 is said to have been spent on the construction and decoration. It almost terrified the 17th century travellers by its grandeur. Words fail them to describe it, but tastes change, and the chapel to-day is gloomy and oppressive in its magnificence.

There wee saw the Armour that the Persians use in fighting, and Armour that was taken from the Turkes, which was very Rich, being inlaid with pearles and precious stones.

There wee saw the sword of Charleman, The Armour and doublet of Hambal, the Saddle of King Pipin, Two garments that the Indian women use to weare, made all of red feathers in a pretty fashon, Also many swords with Pistols at them to shoote and thrust both at one tyme.

There is one side hung all about with Turkish Armour, which for the richnesse and strangenesse of the worke is worth taking notice off.

As stirrup and saddles, shields and Helmets, and all sorts of Armour, which are all set thicke with precious stones, there is one gun very large, the Barrel of it being of Massy gold.¹ There is also a hatt made of Iron which carryes 4 Pistols in it, wherewith a man may kill another without being percieved.²

There is also a thing to keepe a woman chaste, which the Jelousye of the Italians made them invent. There is the Armour also of Gustavus Adolphus, and many other and strange things, which are worthy to invite a man out of his Countrey, if it were onely to behold them.

After wee had seene all that was rare here, wee went into the Ward robe, which is a great Rome, having presses all about it, and those presses full of plate and other Rich things. There is to be seene some furniture for a horse and man, which for the Richnesse of the worke is esteemed inestimable, and was taken from the Turkes.

¹ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, i. p. 165. "Its valued at 1500 pistols and shoots twice as farre as another gun of iron doth, but kills (I beleeeve) with the same payne that others do, though with a little more honour."

² "The buona notte, a set of pistols . . . to put into your hat and to be all shot off at once from thence as you seem to salute your enemy and bid him Good night." Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, i. p. 165.

Also a paire of very large stirrups of silver, that are enameld with Pearls and set about with Rubyes and Diamonds, and a breast plate and crupper for A horse, and such things that are made as Rich as the former, there one may see whole Presses full of Plate and gold, and many things inlaid with Pearles and Diamonds.

In one presse is to be read in great letters of Diamonds :

Cosmus II. Dei gratia magnus Dux Etruria.

There are also many hundered of rare and rich things, the sight of which can onely breed astonishment in those that behold them.

After wee had seene all that was to be seen in this Gallery, which indeed is such A place that the more A man sees the more he desires to see [wee] went to our Lodging.

²¹ The next day wee went to the great Duke's Pallace,¹ where he makes his ordinary Abode, which is built much after the manner of the Luxembourg at Paris.

There are many large and Curious Romes in the lower part of it, and painted very finely with curious Pictures. It is built but 3 stories high, but the Romes are very high and large.

Then going up staires on one side of it wee saw very stately and large Romes where Embassadors and great Persons lodge when they come to the Great Duke.

¹ The Palazzo Pitti, begun about 1440, after designs by Brunelleschi, by order of Luca Pitti, the opponent of the Medici whom he hoped to excel in splendour by the erection of the most imposing palace yet built by a private citizen. When Luca lost his power it remained unfinished until the middle of the 16th century, by which time it had passed to the Medici. Sir Henry Wotton, who saw it at the end of the 16th century, thought it for solid architecture the most magnificent and regular pile within the Christian world. *Letters*, ed by L. P. Smith, Oxford, 1907, I p. 21. The wings of the palace were added after 1620. When Mortoft was there the prosperity of Tuscany was steadily waning. Ferdinand II reigned quietly and benevolently, with no ability but plenty of good intentions. Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 58, thus describes his state in 1644: "In this Palace the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swiss guards after the frugal Italian way, and even selling what he can spare of his wines, at the cellar under his very house, wicker bottles dangling over even the chief entrance into the Palace, serving for a vintner's bush."

There are at the other part of the house some 24 Chambers, all one within Another, and at the entrance to every one of the Chambers are great Pillers of Marble, and every Chamber adorned with very stately and curious pictures, and when all the doores are open, one may see directly the entrance into all the Chambers from the first to the last, which is pretty devise of the man that built the Pallace, and gives much pleasure to those that take notice of it. When wee had been in all these Chambers, wee entered into others, and one among the rest was very rarely furnished, wherein was a Table of Agatt representing all manner of flowers and inr[i]chd in many places with many precious stones. Afterwards wee went up staires to another large Rome, which was hung all about from one end to the other with most live Pictures, and al those Pictures sett in such rich frames of silver and gold, that it made the Rome shew like a Paradise.

Then wee went downe and entered into the Garden,¹ where wee saw many statues of marble and some made by Isaac Angelo.² Wee also saw there the water worke that is so famous and much comended by those that have seen it. But wee could not see it play, in regard of the frost that was Here in this tyme of the yeare, but wee saw enough to admire the invention and rare Art of man. There is in the middle of this water worke a certaine place made round like a circle, and in it a great Pillar of Marble with a very great Basin of Marble on the top of it, and in it the statue of Neptune,³ and many other Images about him out of which the water flows.

¹ The Boboli Gardens laid out by Tribolo in 1550 under Cosimo I and extended subsequently. The anonymous traveller whose journal (1647) is in my possession saw there "ostrages and other strange birds," p. 165. Compare Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, I. p. 287.

² The grotto with four unfinished statues of captives modelled by Michelangelo. They are now in the Accademia delle Belle Arti.

³ The Basin of Neptune, reached from the amphitheatre. The statue is by Stoldo Lorenzi (1565).

There is also all along on both sides on this water worke, which reaches some 200 paces, great statues of Marble where the water uses to run out in a very admirable manner. There is in the garden a very large and round place called A Laborinth, done al about with statues, which in sommer tyme is a place for the followers of the Duke and Ladies of the Duchesse to recreate them selves in.

After wee had seene all that was in the garden, wee went to the Domo,¹ which is the great Church of Florence, and seemes of a Vast bignesse without side, all the wals of It being built of blacke and white Marble, having a Tower of the same worke adjoyning to it. Wee went up into the topp of it, which is some 600 stepps high, and being built in the middle of the Citty, one hath a full view and Prospect of all the Citty, and also of those houses that Are built by the mountains adjoyning to it.

Wee afterwards went to see the Lyons, Beares and Tigers, Leopards and Wild Boares, which are kept at one side of the Citty.²

Having seene all these things and many more, which for brevity I omitt, wee tooke our Journy for Rome on
22 Sunday, the 22nd of December, and lay that night 20 mile distant from Florence.

¹ Erected on the site of an earlier church. The work was commenced about 1294, and the church was finally consecrated in 1436. The cupola was the work of Brunelleschi. Catherine Wilmot (1802) writes: "The Cathedral does not look unlike an Indian tea chest of inlaid ebony and Ivory on a prodigious scale." *An Irish Peer on the Continent* 1801-1803, ed. by T. U. Sadleir, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 126.

² They were near the Duke's stables. The beasts could be let out "at the dores of their several dennis into a fair court to fight, and when they have done, they can bring them back againe into their dennis by a fearful machine of wood made like a great Green Dragon which a man within it rowles upon wheels, and holding out two lighted torches at the eyes of it, frights the fiercest beast thereby into his denn. The Prince and the Court in the meantime standing high above may see the combats of these wild beasts with ease and without danger." Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1. pp. 209-10. On early Zoos in Italy and elsewhere, see Burckhardt, *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (Eng. trans.), p. 293.

The next day wee were on horse backe two houres before day, and dined at an Ancient Citty called Sienna,¹ 14 Mile from the other Place, and in which Citty the Pope now alive was Borne.² It is a very fine Citty, large and populous. Wee went into the great Church,³ which is very finely built. In one chappel in that Church is upon the wall 10 Pictures concerning the story of Æneus Silvius⁴ painted in such a lively manner that it almost seems naturall There is also the heads of all the Popes done in Marble, set about the Church on the Sealing.⁵ And about halfe the Church on the ground is worked in Marble the story of Moses and Abraham and many of the Patriarchs, and is esteemed so admirable a piece, as well for antiquity as excellency of worke, that the like is hardly to be found again in Christendome, for which cause they keepe the place covered made with boards for the purpose.⁶

¹ "Siena is a neate Towne, the Second in Tuscany, the Ayre is good there, things cheape and Language well spoaken and the streetes neate." Lassels, *Voyage of Lady Catherine Whelenall*, Add MS 4217, fo 20^a Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 60, Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, I p 293; Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p 49; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p 235 The writer of *A True Description* in the Harleian Miscellany, XII p. 91, adds "When you come into the city lodge at the Golden Angel where you will find good and stately entertainment," and after describing the town: "Let it rain never so fast or long it is dry again throughout the whole city within the space of half an hour"

² Pope Alexander VII. Mortoft saw him later at Rome. See below, p. 76, note 4.

³ The Duomo, consecrated in 1179.

⁴ Pope Pius II. The frescoes are in the Sala Piccolomini They were painted by Pinturcchio, assisted by the advice of Raphael, then in his 20th year They are described in E Hutton, *Siena and Southern Tuscany*, 1910, p. 117 Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, p. 293, says "In my judgment the most excellent painting that ever I beheld, and so fresh and lively as if it had been done but yesterday"

⁵ The heads of the Popes over the lower arches of the nave are in terra-cotta

⁶ On this wonderful pavement, the labour of centuries and unique in Italy, see E. Hutton, *Siena and Southern Tuscany*, 1910, p. 112, and R. H. Hobart Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, 1901. Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, p. 293, says "Had it been finished as intended, all Europe could not have shewn the like: but there is not a fourth part done."

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There is also a very fine fountaine standing in a large place of the Citty, about which is carved 7 Wolfes in Marble, out of the mouth of which the water runs.¹

Parting from hence, when wee had dined, wee lay that night at a Village some 18 Miles off.

24 The next day wee went on our Journye and after much bad way, dined at A little Village called *St. Antimo* (?) St. Anthony,² some 17 Mile from the place where wee lay, then taking horse wee had 12 Mile of very bad way, and lay that night at a little Village called Compendente.³ Between St. Anthony and Compendente passes a River which seperates the Countrye of the Grand Duke from the Pope's, which is the first Towne that belongs to the Pope on that side.

25 On Christmas day wee went on our Journye, and on which day Mr. Stanley was furnished with a very bad horse by the knavish Vittorines, but at last wee al gott *Montefiascone* to Monte fiascon,⁴ 18 miles from the Place where wee lay, and is much renouned for the good Wyne that the Countrye produces. One may read in a Church that stands close by the place where wee dined, Propter Nimum Est, Est, Est. Joannis Dux meus Dominus, hic mortuus est; the story going that this man being a Duke, and having a great desire to drinke good wyne, taking upon him to travel, being an Alleman, he sent his Man

¹ The Fonte Gaja in the Market Place, completed in 1343 The sculptured reliefs were added by Jacopo della Quercia, 1412-1419, who thereafter became known as "della Fonte" The present fountain is a modern reproduction The original bas-reliefs, much damaged, are in Opera del Duomo.

² S Antimo (?) about 2½ miles from Monte Amiata

³ I cannot identify.

⁴ Montefiascone. The Duke was Canon Johann Fugger of the famous Augsburg family. The tomb is in the subterranean chapel of the cathedral, and represents the bushop as lying on the tomb with a goblet on each side of his mitre and under his arms The epitaph is given in full in Murray, *Central Italy*, 6th ed., 1864, p 355. The best muscatel of the district is still known as Est Est. On the Vetturini, the carriers of the period, see E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600, 1911*, p 331, and above, *Introd*, p. xxxiii.

before him to every Towne that he was to passe through, and where he found good wyne he should write Est upon the gate of [the] Towne, and w[h]ere he found the best he should write Est, Est, and having found excellent wyne in this Towne he write Est, Est on the Gate of the Towne, which the Duke perceiving, drunke himself to death, upon which account his man caused these words to be written on his grave.

Passing from hence, wee lay that night at a Citty called Viterbin,¹ 8 miles off, where as wee entered into the Citty wee saw a very fine fountaine, out of which the water issued At least in 100 several places.

Viterbo

On the 26th wee departed from Viterbin, and dined at a place called at [sic] Ronga lyon,² 16 miles off, and lay that night at Monterese,³ 10 miles from the other place.

Roncighon

Monterosi

On the 27th day wee rid 24 Mile, and soe Mr. Hare, 27 his Man, Monsr. Pillat, Mr. Stanley and my selfe arrived at the famous Citty of Rome, which is soe much renowned for those rare antiquities that are here to be seene, more then in any other Place.

Rome

is esteemed to be 14 miles round⁴ within the wals, being a very large place and much bigger then london, though

¹ Viterbo, famous for its beautiful women and fountains. The fountain referred to is probably the one near the Porta Fiorentina ascribed to Vignola (1566). Compare *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany xii. p. 92: "It is adorned with very fair and artificial water works worthy the seeing. And when you have taken sight of the place my advice is to take you out as you came in and then ride on your right hand hard by the town wall to the Cardinal Gambara." Then follows an account of extraordinary hospitality and entertainment which quite outdid the sights of Viterbo itself.

² Roncighone.

³ Monterosi.

⁴ Baedeker says 10 miles. Fynes Moryson in 1594 gives the circuit as 15 miles: "others say thirteene or fourteene, besides that a very great part of this circuit within the walles is not inhabited" *Itinerary* i p. 273 (reprint). The population was constantly changing, but Ranke, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans. (Bohn's Lib.), ii.

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not so populous by farre, but here is to be seene those rare Curiosities that noe Citty in the world can afford the like.

1 *January.*

Wee entered into the Pallace of the Pope¹ to heare him say Masse and to see him in all his pomp, where wee saw about 30 Cardinals enter, but for some Indisposition the Pope came not.

Afterwards wee went to the Pallace of the Queene of Sweth land,² which is close by the Pope's Pallace, and

p. 378, gives 120,596 for 1656 Compare Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III 2, p 630, who gives the population in 1656 as 100,000. On earlier figures, see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng trans., XIII. p. 356 On the appearance of Rome in the 17th century see Reumont, III. 2, p 819. Also D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 406 "The population had increased steadily in this period, the great palaces of the Pamphili, Chigi and Colonna were built; the Barberini and Chigi libraries were founded, and the improved amenities of the city made it one of the most desirable places of residence in the world" There had been a plague visitation in 1656

¹ Alexander VII, 1655-1667. See below, p 76, note ⁴ The Vatican is described at pp. 129, 155.

² Christina, Queen of Sweden (1629-1689), daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, succeeded her father in 1644 In 1654 she abdicated, and was received into the Roman church at Innsbruck in 1656, a ceremony witnessed by Bargrave, who describes her carriage as very scandalous—"laughing, giggling and curling and trimming her locks." *College of Cardinals* (Camden Society), p. 69 She then took up her residence in Rome, entering the city in the dress of an Amazon When Bishop Burnet was at Rome in 1685 she was fast becoming "one of the antiquities" *Travels*, 1750 ed. p 230 Ed Browne describes her in 1665 as "low and fat and a little crooked," and as going about in a velvet cloak and cravat and a man's peruke. Letter in *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, I. p 86 In the drawing prefixed to Bargrave's *College of Cardinals*, she certainly presents the quaintest figure. Misson, whose *Voyage to Italy* was first published in 1691, writes: "Her M— is above sixty years of age, of a very low stature, extream fat and thick Her complexion, voice and countenance are very masculine; her nose is great, her eyes are large and blue and her eyebrows yellow She has a double chun strew'd with some long hairs of beard and her under lip sticks out a little. Her hair is of a bright chestnut colour about a hands breadth long, powdered and brisked up without any head-dress," vol II pt I, p 35, 1714 ed. She died in Rome in 1689. See generally "Digression concerning Queen Catherine of Sweden" in Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Eng trans. (Bohn's Lib.), II pp. 387 ff; *Life*, by Bain, 1890, de Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino*, Paris, 1899. She was first installed in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, now Pallavicini, built in 1603, and purchased later from Cardinal Guido Bentivoglia by Cardinal Mazarin. In July, 1659, she transferred her residence to the Palazzo Corsini, built originally by the Riario family; de Bildt, *op. cit.*,

belongs to Cardinal Mazarine, bought by him of Cardinal Bentivoglio. Here we saw her enter into her Coach and followed her to the Jesuits Church to see her at Masse, where I stood close by her, and had a very perfect view of her, seeming to be a woman of A great spirit and majesticke Countenance, and also somewhat handsome. She was in a Velvet gowne and in her haire. I afterwards saw her led by a Jesuite into her Coach to whome she seemed very pleasant and merry.

We went to the Campedolio or Capitol,¹ a place so much honoured by the Romans in former tymes; and is one of the seaven hils belonging to Rome which are so much mentioned in Profane Authors. As we entered up some high stepps, we saw the statues that were made by the Romans to the honour of Castor and Pollux.² A little Above them the statue of Marcus Aurelius³ on

5 Capitol

pp. 83, 93, Hare, *Walks in Rome*, ed Baddeley, p 649 For a time she made Rome one of the most brilliant social resorts in Europe: "her fêtes, masquerades, theatricals, library and funeral were on a scale of unprecedented splendour, while even the most austere cardinals were charmed by her vivacity and enthusiasm." D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p 406 Also *La vita italiana nel seicento*, Florence and Milan, pp. 78 ff., G Claretta, *La Regina Cristina di Svezia in Italia*, Turin, 1892. For Mortoft's description of her appearance and high spirits, see below p. 97

¹ It was during the 16th century that the Capitol lost its aspect of a feudal stronghold and assumed its present appearance. The great staircase leading to the Piazza del Campidoglio was opened in its present form in 1536 on the occasion of the entry of Charles V Michelangelo laid out the square and was entrusted with the design for transforming the two palaces, that of the Senators and that of the Conservators. In Mortoft's time they must have looked much as they do to-day, and the New Palace, now the Capitoline Museum, had just been completed Rodocanachi, *The Roman Capitol*, 1906 (Eng trans), pp 123 ff., 186; Hare, p 82 An excellent brief account of the formation of the Museum is contained in *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, ed by H. Stuart Jones, Oxford, 1912, Introd See also A Michaelis, *Storia della Collezione Capitolina di Antichità* (Mitt. der Kaiserlich-deutschen Arch Instituts, Rom. Abtg., Band VI), Rome, 1891.

* These statues are still at the head of the stairs. They were brought there in 1583 from the Ghetto, where they were found during the building of the Synagogue. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen . . . in Rom*, 3rd ed., 1912, I p 408.

* On this famous bronze statue, see Rodocanachi, p. 131. It stood originally in the Forum, near the arch of Septimus Severus. In 1187 it was erected near the Lateran and was transferred here in 1538. Hare, p. 83, Helbig, I p. 408.

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horsebacke, made in brasse, and is esteemed by all Persons such a rare piece, that the like was never made by any man, the horse indeed is made so lively, that it wants nothing but life to make it a perfect horse, which made the famous Carver Isaack Angelo goe every day to view it. It is esteemed such a Rare piece that the Venetians offered the waight in gold for it, which must needes be a vast sum in regard the horse and statue is of a vast bignesse.

Entring then On the Right hand into a Court,¹ wee saw the statue of Julius Cæsar made in his life tyme, which must needes resemble him Perfectly. A little from him is the statue of Agustus Cesar,² and by It the head of A huge Colossus³ in Marble, and In the Court the hands and feete belonging to the statue, one of the toes of it being much bigger than my middle, which must needs be a vast bignesse considering all other things proportionable to it.

In this place also is the statue of A Lyon having a horse in his mouth,⁴ and was found under ground, being made in the Romans tyme, a piece for the excellency of the workemanship much esteemed and for which the king of Spaine offered 10,000 Crownes, and upon this regard the Lyon is his Armes and a horse without a Bridle is the Armes

¹ The courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators, where the antiquities were then kept.

² The two semi-colossal statues are now in the vestibule, but the second really represents a Roman Admiral. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, 1899, p. 232; Rodocanachi, p. 206, Helbig, Nos. 885, 886. See also Michaelis, p. 34.

³ On these fragments see Hare, p. 93, and Helbig, No. 887. The head, probably from a statue of Domitian, was removed in 1673 from under the portico of the Palace of the Conservators, a place it had occupied for more than a century, and taken to the inner courtyard, where it is at present. Rodocanachi, p. 187; Michaelis, pp. 18, 50. The hands and feet may have belonged to a statue of Apollo. Rodocanachi, pp. 200, 201, with illustration.

⁴ On this group, now in the courtyard of the Palace of Conservators, see Helbig, No. 944: "gruppo soverchiamente lodato da Michelangelo." Michaelis, p. 6.

of Naples, he supposing that this statue may be a prophesye of his Predecessors conquering the Kingdome of Naples, as this Lyon did the horse.

By this statue is the Representation of the Rape of the Sabinian wive[s] carved by the side of a Tomb, and done so exceeding well that it is a grace to the place where it stands.¹ By it is the statue of Constantine the Great,² and not far from it a huge head of Brasse, which is thought to be of Commodus the Emperor,³ and made extreame lively, and by it a hand of Brasse belonging to the same head, standing upon a little Tomb, in which are inclosed the Ashes of Agripina the Mother of Nero.⁴

Then going up staires wee saw a Pillar of Marble,⁵ made close to a wall, and is held to be the Antienst piece of worke in all Rome. It represents the first Victory that ever the Romans gott against the Carthaginians at sea, which is almost 2,000 yeares agoe.

¹ This must refer to the reliefs on the magnificent sarcophagus of Alexander Severus, which were formerly believed to represent the Rape of the Sabines Michaelis, pp 46, 57 In fact, they display scenes from the life of Achilles Helbig, No 774 Catalogue ed by Stuart Jones, p 77 and plate 16 The sarcophagus was found in 1582, three miles from Porta S Giovanni, and placed in the courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators in 1590 It was transferred to the Capitoline Museum about 1722

² Of the three statues of Constantine mentioned by early travellers (Michaelis, p 31), one was transported in 1595 to the Palace of the Conservators and placed near the group of the Lion and Horse Michaelis, p 49 This must be the one referred to Evelyn describes "the statue of Constantine on a fountain" *Diary* (Globe ed), p 64; Rodocanachi, p 204, note 8 Two of the statues now adorn the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio, and the third is in the portico of the Lateran, whither it was transferred in 1737 Stuart Jones, p. 3; Helbig, I p 411.

³ Also attributed to Otho, Nero and Domitian. Helbig, No. 959. The hand is now with the head in the Cam dei Bronzi Hare, p 97, Helbig, No. 960 The hand formerly held a globe, but this had disappeared before Mortoft's time. Rodocanachi, p. 204

⁴ The urn is still to be seen in the courtyard Rodocanachi, p 198, Michaelis, pp 10-11, Hare, p. 93, Helbig, No. 889.

⁵ The restoration by Michelangelo of the columna rostrata of Caius Duilius (260 B.C) and an Augustan copy of the inscription recording his achievements. Michaelis, p. 35; Hare, p 94; Helbig, No. 890.

Then going up staires wee saw the statue of Urania, one of the Muses,¹ made extreame lively, holding out one of her hands, which is made with so much Art and so prettily that the Best Lady in England can scarce shew a more handsomer hand then this statue hath. By this statue is 4 Representations concerning Marcus Aurelius.² One represents his sacrificing to the Gods, a 2nd his triumph into Rome in his Chariot drawne by 6 horses, a 3rd his granting Pardon to two Captive Kings, where he is made on horse-back, and the 4th his receiving a Citty that was delivered up by the Enemy, and all these pieces made so extreame lively that the least of them can not be valued.

Afterwards wee went one paire of staires higher, and entered up into the Romes of the Capitol,³ where just as one enters In stands A great statue of Pope Xistus Quintus,⁴ all in Brasse, and made in the same manner as he used to sitt in tyme of great festival dayes. This Pope was a very poore man at first, and when he came to Be Pope he much adorned Rome with many great Workes, as is to be seene in many Places.

¹ Still in the Palace of the Conservators. Hare, p. 94

² The three bas-reliefs from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, now on the landing of the staircase of the Palace of the Conservators, were taken in 1525 from the church of S Martina Rodocanachi, p. 202; Michaelis, pp. 24, 47. The fourth relief, which does not relate to Marcus Aurelius, stood formerly near the Piazza Sciarra in the Corso. Hare, p. 94; Helbig, Nos. 891-893.

³ Mortoft is still in the Palace of the Conservators.

⁴ By the sculptor Taddeo Landini, who was paid 1,300 crowns for it. Rodocanachi, pp. 156, 172. On the development of Rome under Sixtus V (1585-1590), the creator of Modern Rome. See *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. III ch. XIII. The statue was melted down in 1798. Steinmann in Vatican Library *Studi e Testi*, vol. 38 (Miscellanea, Francesco Ehrle, vol. II), 1925, p. 501; also pp. 489, 490, Ricci in *L'Arte*, XIX (1916), pp. 172-173. Compare J. A. F. Orbaan, *Sistine Rome*, 1910, p. 262. (Information kindly supplied by Dr. Thos. Ashby.)

Just by this statue, upon the wall, is the head of the Queene of Swethland¹ in white marble, made very like her, with something in lattin under her in her praise for turning to the Church of Rome.

A little from this is the statue of Pope Innocent the 10th², which was the last Pope made all in brasse, in the same manner as the former, onely he seemed to be much more an ouglier man than the other.

Over against him is the statue of Urban the 8th in Marble, in all his Robes.³

At the upper end of the Rome is the statue of Leo the 10th in marble,⁴ resembling a huge fatt man without a Beard.

Just as one enters Into another Chamber are the heads of Plato and Socrates, And a little further the head of Diogenes, and another of Plato with a great long Beard. There are 3 or 4 great statues more in this Rome.

In another Chamber is the statue of the god Pan,⁵ which was worshipped by the Roman shepards. By it is the statue of Sybel⁶ in marble with a Castle on her head.

¹ The tablet recording the visit paid by the Queen of Sweden in 1656 was set up in the great hall of the Palace of the Conservators. The authorities were careful to state in the inscription that they had received the Queen with their hats on. Six months' negotiations were necessary to persuade her not to dispute a privilege which the Capitoline magistrates had long insisted on. Rodocanachi, p. 196, note 1. For the inscription see Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese . . . di Roma*, 1869-1885, I No 156.

² By Algardi. Hare, p. 95; Rodocanachi, p. 189.

³ By Bernini. Hare, p. 95; Rodocanachi, p. 189.

⁴ See Rodocanachi, p. 171. Now in the church of S. Maria in Ara Coeli. *Ibid.*, 172. Leo X was the first Pope to whom a statue was erected in the Capitol.

⁵ Cf. Michaelis, p. 27: "una statua di Pane, di marmo, come pare, legato colle mani dietro ad un tronco." It was much mutilated. Rodocanachi, pp. 204, 205.

⁶ Dr Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, has kindly identified this for me as the Cybele, now on the Pincio. See Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, Leipzig, 1881, No 1401, Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, I p. 364, No. 6. Compare addenda in forthcoming volume of *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome*, by Members of the British School at Rome.

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Close by it is the statue of a woman most rarely and lively made, holding her finger to her mouth.¹

In another Rome is the head of Sapho, that excellent Poet woman, that was soe much extolled in Greece. There is also an excellent statue of Hercules in Brasse, made naked,² with his clubb by his side.

In this Rome is the statue of Marcus Tullius Cicero, made in the same manner as he used to pleade in, he seemed by his statue to be something a leane, spare man, having much beard upon his chin, but not hanging downe, but tyme hath much defaced the beauty of this statue.

Then entring into another Chamber, wee saw about 8 or 10 heads of several Romans.

In another Rome, at the Dore, stands the statue of Neroe's Nurse,³ having a little Boy by her side, which was Nero, and though very young yet did represent a kind of a fierce looke with him.

A little from this statue is that of Aggripina, his Mother,⁴ sitting in a Chaire, most lively and admirably well made.

There are about 7 or 8 more in the Rome.

In another Chamber is A Wolfe in Brasse,⁵ with two young Children sucking her in resemblance to Romulus and Remus.

¹ This must be the Angerona (Polymnia) also on the Pincio Stuart Jones, I. p. 365, No. 17.

² In the corridor of the Palace of Conservators Helbig, No. 1005; Michaelis (with sketch), p. 17, Rodocanachi, p. 199

³ This must be the group (Roman matron and her son), now in the Capitoline Museum (Stuart Jones, p. 131, plate 22), although the infant has a fat, rather than a fierce, look.

⁴ This must be No. 84 in the Stanza degli Imperatori, Capitoline Museum. Stuart Jones, p. 214, plate 53; Helbig, No. 805.

⁵ The bronze wolf of the Capitol, one of the most interesting relics of early art in Italy is still in the Palace of the Conservators Hare, p. 95, Helbig, No. 983. Mortoft now leaves the Capitol. It is curious that he should have passed by the famous "Boy extracting a thorn," which other 17th century travellers noticed and admired. Cf. Evelyn, "the boy plucking the thorn out of his foot, of brass, so much admired by artists," *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 65; Lassels, the "best statue here . . . Its onely of brasse, but worth its weight in gold." *Voyage of Italy* (1670) II. p. 144.

Going from this place, we went into the Foro Romano, which is now called Campo Vaccino, in regard all kinds of Beasts are here bought and sold, and is just behind the Capitol¹

We there saw the Prison² where they say Saint Peter and Saint Paul were kept, which place is preserved with great ceremony, going down a pair of stairs to it, having a pair of Brass gates before it, where is a continual resort of people for devotion sake.

*Mamertine
Prisons*

Close by this is a Church in building where formerly stood the Temple of Mars,³ and which on a nother tyme

S. Martina

¹ Mortoft leaves the Capitol and descends into the Forum. Abandoned for centuries, it had now become a receptacle for rubbish, and presented a squalid and dismal appearance. In the 16th century the ground had been excavated in the search for building material, but this had now ceased and the place had become a cattle market. "In order that one may see the insecurity of the goods of this world, God has permitted that this place, once the chief place of the Romans, and adorned as we have seen, should now be reduced to this condition, and should be a resort for cattle the cattle market being held here, for which reason it is called Campo Vaccino." E. du Perac in *Rome in 1581*, ed. by Thos Ashby, Roxburghe Club, 1916, p. 96 and plate xiv. Across the Forum, lengthwise from the Arch of Titus to the Arch of Severus, stretched a perfectly straight avenue of elms which can be seen already grown to a considerable size in the pictures made by Livinus Cruyl about 1650. On the level of the Campo Vaccino there were a few solitary houses, work-sheds for stone-cutters, etc. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, trans. by J. B. Carter, 2nd ed., 1909, p. 46 and figs. 14-15, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p. 249. The Temple of Saturn was buried in rubbish up to the bases of the columns, and the Temple of Vespasian half way up the columns themselves. Huelsen, p. 44. Nor had matters improved in the 18th century. See Gibbon, ed. Bury (1914 ed.), vii. p. 314: "The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now inclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes."

² The Mamertine prisons, beneath the church of S. Pietro in Carcere. In the lower dungeon a pillar is still shown to which SS. Peter and Paul are said to have been bound for 9 months. Hare, pp. 106-107; Grisar, *Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), 1911, i. p. 250; Huelsen, p. 123; Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma* (2nd ed.), 1891, p. 539; Tuckwell and Mallett, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, 1900, pt. 1, p. 313; Marucchi, *Basiliques et Eglises de Rome* (2nd ed.), 1909, p. 236.

³ The church of S. Martina, founded in the 7th century on the site of the ancient secretarium or chancery of the Senate. Other travellers also speak of the church as having been built on the site of the Temple of Mars. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 99. The body of a young girl and

wee entered in, where wee saw remaining the ruins of the Ancient Temple under ground, but now the Church which is here on building is called St^t Martina, in regard they say her Body was found hereabouts. In one Chapel, which is made at the charges of Cardinal Burbarine, upon the Altar lyes the statue of the saint in Marble, excellently well carved, Then dissending down stayers wee saw a fine chappell made all of Marble, where under the high Altar, In a Tomb of Marble, lyes the Bodys of St^t Marmatina, Epiphanius and Concordius that were martyred in the primitive tymes, and here there bones [are] kept as Precious reliques of those Martyrs.

Adriano

Close by this Church is a Temple that was formerly dedicated to Saturne,¹ but now turnd into a Church, yet not fully finished. In this Church, over an Altar, is written in an Inscription in Latin that under it lyes the Bodyes of the three Children, Shadrack, Mesech and Abednego, but without doubt a most grevous lye.

a severed head believed to be the remains of the Saint were discovered in 1634, and Cardinal Barberini undertook to rebuild the church. The figure of the Saint by Guerini reposes beneath the High Altar. The tomb is beneath the bronze altar in the inner chapel. Pietro da Cortona, the painter, erected the chapel at his own cost and endowed it with his fortune when he died. Hare, p. 146; Huelsen, p. 117; Marucchi, p. 234; Armellini, p. 159. On S. Martina see Tuke and Malletson, pt. 1, p. 301.

¹ This must be the present church of S. Adriano which was formerly believed to stand upon the site of the Temple of Saturn. See Fichard (a German traveller of 1535), *Italia*, in Frankfurt Archiv, 1815, III. p. 34, "Ubi nunc S. Hadriani, ibi olim Saturni templum fuit": also John Ray, *Travels* (ed. of 1738), I. p. 299, "Templum Saturni . . . now St. Adrians church", and Nic. Stone (1638) "St. Adriano antiently the Temple of Saturn" *Diary*, in Walpole Society's Volume, 1918-1919, p. 175. The church was restored about 1656 and the work was apparently still in progress. See [De' Rossi] *Descrizione di Roma Moderna* (ed. of 1727), p. 584. This church and the church of S. Martina at one time formed a single building. The church of S. Adriano, in fact, stands on the site of the Curia or Senate House. Grisar, I. p. 241; Huelsen, p. 116; Marucchi, p. 229; Hare, p. 135. The inscription which mentions the Three Children is given by Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, II. No. 147. Compare Armellini, p. 158; Tuke and Malletson, pt. 1, p. 162.

Jan—1659

S. Maria
Liberatrice

Over against this Church is another that is called St Maria libera nos,¹ where in wee read an Inscription how the Devil was bound by St Silvester, the Pope that converted Constantine the great, In this very place, but God knowes whether he be there or noe, for I know not.

At the foote of the Hil whereon the Capitol is built, is the Tryumphal Arch that was erected to the honour of Septimus Severus,² which is engraven al about with his victoryes, and under which he passed when he came tryumphing to Rome.

Arch of
Severus

By this wee saw 4 or 5 Pillars of Marble that are the Remains of the Temple of Concord.³

A little from this Place is the Pallatin Hill, another of the 7 Hills, where wee saw 3 or 4 Arches on which Cicero used to say his Orations to the People,⁴ and close by which

Rostra
Vetera

¹ The church of S. Maria Liberatrice. It was demolished in 1900 for the purpose of excavating the 6th century Basilica of S. Maria Antiqua. The legend concerns a death-dealing dragon which slew hundreds of people and was bound and shut up until the Day of Judgment by St. Silvester. The story appears in connection with various localities in Rome and is referred to by Dante (*Inferno*, xxvii 94). The story of the baptism of Constantine appears in the Greek Acts of St. Silvester of the 6th century. On the church and legend, see Nichols, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, 1889, p. 98, note 200 and p. 122, note 2; Grisar, I pp. 244 ff.; Marucchi, p. 247; Armellini, p. 527; Hare, p. 147; Tucker and Malletson, pt. I, p. 280. The inscription referred to seems to be the one set up in 1617 recording the restoration undertaken by Cardinal Marcello Lante Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vii, No. 827.

² The Arch of Severus was erected by the Senate in A.D. 203 in honour of the Emperor and his two sons Caracalla and Geta. Lassels in 1670 describes it as half-buried underground, "the other half sore battered with the ayre." *Voyage of Italy*, II, p. 135. In the 18th century the side arches were walled in and used as shops. Hare, p. 122; Huelsen, pp. 84-90; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p. 286, with drawing showing a fruiterer's shop under the side arch.

³ Mortoft seems to be confusing the Temple of Concord with the Temple of Saturn, which has 8 columns, or with the Temple of Vespasian, which has 3 columns. Lanciani, *op. cit.*; p. 290; Huelsen, p. 93 and fig. 41, showing the site in 1575; Hare, p. 119.

⁴ The remains of the Rostra Vetera from which Cicero delivered two of his orations against Cataline. Compare Lassels, II, p. 136. "In this Foro also stood the Rostra, a great Pulpit made of the Rostra or brassen snouts of the ships . . . where Tully thundered." See also Hare, p. 120; Huelsen, p. 72; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p. 280.

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he had his house.¹ At the foote of this Place was found Romulus and Remus, who in this place were nourished by a wolfe.²

Temple of
Antoninus
and Faustina

Over against this place is the ruins of a great Temple that was formerly built to the Honour of Antoninus Pius.³ Close by this Temple is the Temple that was dedicated to the honour of Romulus and Remus, but is now converted into a Church, yet hath the same forme and fashion as in former tymes ⁴

. Cosma e
Damiano

From this place wee went up a little higher, and saw 4 great Arches that remains of a Temple called the Temple of Peace,⁵ which was built by Titus Vespasian after he came from Jerusalem, and wherein he putt all those treasures that he took in that warre.

salica of
Constantine

¹ Above the Clivus Victoriae, on the Palatine, is the locality once occupied by the great Patrician families. On Cicero's house, see Jordan-Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum*, 1907, I III p 58; Hare, p. 222; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p 119

² See Jordan-Huelsen, I III p 36, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p 131, and Fynes Moryson (Reprint) I, p 268. "And upon the side, lying towards the Circus, they shew a little house in the place where Romulus dwelt, onely preserved in memory of him."

³ The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the remains of which can still be seen in the Forum. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, p 220, plate, 128, Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p 99, with plates 29 and 30, Hare, p 139

⁴ The Church of SS Cosma e Damiano was built by Pope Felix IV (527-530) on the round vestibule of the heroon which Maxentius, in A D 307, erected to his son Romulus, who had died as a boy. Huelsen, p. 232, Hare, pp. 143, 150, Marucchi, p. 457; Armellini, p 152. A communication was cut between the rotunda and the Templum Sacrae Urbis behind it and both were dedicated to SS. Cosma e Damiano. The latter temple, the most perfect of the buildings in the classic district of the Sacra Via, was mercilessly mutilated by Pope Urban VIII in 1632, when the church was destroyed. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p 215, with plate showing the church at the end of the 16th century.

⁵ The Basilica of Constantine was generally known as the Templum Pacis until 1819, when Nibby gave it its correct name. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 105; Huelsen, p 239, plate 137, Hare, p. 144. The site of Vespasian's Temple of Peace, adjoining the remains of the Templum Sacrae Urbis and behind SS. Cosma e Damiano, is now being excavated. A drawing of the Basilica in 1581 is given in Ashby, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII. See also Huelsen, p. 237; Hare, p. 143

5 Jan.—1659
*S. Maria
 Nuova*

Close by this Temple stands a Church called Santa Maria Nouva,¹ which is but little, but what it wants in bignesse it hath in richnesse, The high Altar being as Rich a piece of worke as any in Rome It is al railed about with very fine railles of Marble, then within these railles is a pretty large place, paved with pure Marble, and of such excellent worke that it is a great adornement to the Church. At the upper end of it is a Tomb of Porphir, where in is buried of [*sic*] some of the martyrs in the Primitive tymes, as appeares by a Tablet that is hung up in the Church,² then going up some marble steps, on the right hand, wee saw two stones placed on the walls with little Iron barres before them, which they say are the two stones³ that St. Peter knelt upon when he was praying against Symon Magus, the vehemency of whose Prayers, they say, made those stones yeeld against his knees, cracking just in the middle, where one putting his hands to them may both see and feele large round holes in them, and seeme as if they were cracked, but whether these be the stones or Noe, or whether there was such a thing, Is left to be beleaved by who will.

¹ S. Maria Nuova, now S. Francesca Romana, was built by Leo IV A.D 850 in the portico of Hadrian's temple of Venus and dedicated to the Virgin In 1440 the dedication was changed to S. Francesca Romana, when that popular Saint, Francesca de' Ponziani, was buried there Marucchi, p. 361, Hare, p. 152, Tukes and Malleson, pt. 1, p. 230

² For the bodies of certain martyrs transferred there in 996, see Armellini, p. 150

³ The legend, vividly presented in the picture by Francesco Vanni in the Vatican, was as follows —Simon had promised to fly and thus ascend to the heavenly abodes. On the day appointed he cast himself from the Capitoline Hill and began the ascent St Peter prayed so fervently that his arts might fail that the stones melted under his knees, and Simon, falling headlong, was dashed to pieces. Hare, p. 153, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892, p. 161 The stone, which is still shown, was originally in the Sacra Via It was believed that the rain water collected in the holes healed the sick. Nichols, *Mirabilia*, 1889, p. 136, note 2.

There is also, as is specified in a Tablet, the Picture of the Virgin Mary¹ with our Saviour in her armes, placed against the wal over the high Altar, which is specified to be drawne by the hand of St Luke; it showes some thing old and blacke, and one may yet see enough in it to thinke that man excellent in his Art that was the Author of it.

Arch of Titus

A little from this Church, on the right hand, wee saw the Arch Tryomphant that was dedicated to the honour of Titus Vespasian² when he conquered Jerusalem, where on one side of it is the representation of the 7 Golden Candlesticks³ that were brought from the Temple of Solomon and putt in the forementioned Temple of Peace. On the other side is the representation of his triumphant coming to Rome.

*Arch of
Constantine*

From this place wee went downe a little further and saw the Tryomphant Arch of Constantine⁴ the great, which was made to his honour when he overranne Maxentius: it is esteemed to be one of the best pieces of worke in Rome and the last that was ever made to the honour of any Roman Emperor. It is al engraven about with the Victoryes of the Emperor and his tryumphing entrance into Rome.

¹ The picture was brought from the Troad in the 11th century, and was the only object in the church to escape when the building was burnt in 1216. Armellini, p. 150; Hare, p. 152.

² On the Arch of Titus, see Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, p. 247, and plate 151 showing the Arch in 1575; Hare, p. 155.

³ On the spoils brought from Jerusalem to Rome and their subsequent fate, see Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), I. pp. 211-212; Grisar, *Rome and the Popes* (Eng. trans.), I. p. 97. The candlestick represented on the Arch lacks accuracy, but had for its original doubtless the golden seven-branched Candlestick taken from the Temple. The Arch was known in the Middle Ages as the Arch of the Seven Candlesticks. Hare, p. 155.

⁴ On the Arch of Constantine, erected in his honour by the Senate in A.D. 315, see Hare, p. 159. It was restored in 1731. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p. 194. For a 16th century drawing, see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, III. pl. xx fig. 2. Compare *Ibid.*, p. 252.

5 Jan—1659
Meta Sudans

Colosseum

Just by this Arch is the Ruins of A great high fountaine,¹ which formerly refreshed those Persons which came from the Amphitheater,² and which stands close by ; and was made by Vespasian. There were 40,000 persons employed about the building of it for 11 yeares, whose labour made such a large building of it, that they say it is able to containe above 100,000 persons. But tyme hath at present ruind a great part of it, yet enough

¹ The Meta Sudans, of which the remains still exist, was erected by Domitian. The name came from the shape, which resembled one of the metae, or goals, in the arena, and from the fact that it had many jets out of which the water came, as though from the pores of the skin. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 115 and plate xxiv. Lassels (1670) calls it an "old round rubble of brick." *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 122.

² The Colosseum never failed to make a lasting impression on all visitors to Rome at this time, although the lower storey was still partially buried, up to the capitals of the arches. The building was begun by Vespasian in A.D. 70 and completed by Domitian. Some 12,000 captive Jews are said to have been employed in the building. Huelsen (Jordan, *Topographie von Rom*, I III p. 297) has shown that the number of spectators the amphitheatre could contain was about 40,000 to 45,000. The shell was preserved intact in the 8th century. At some time, as yet unfixed, probably as a result of the earthquake of September, 1349, which ruined so many ancient monuments of Rome, the whole of the western half of the shell fell towards the Caelian and gave rise to a hill, or chain of hills, of loose blocks of travertine and tufa, which supplied Rome with building material for five centuries. In the 16th century the arena was used for stage-plays and also for the practice of witchcraft. Bevenuto Cellini describes how he saw the place filled with devils by a necromancer. *Life*, translated by J. A. Symonds, ch. LXIV, book I. Under Sixtus V (1585-1590) the monument ran the risk of being converted into a manufactory for woollen goods. Later, part of it was rented as a glue factory. During all this time excavations for building material were going on, and the quarry must have been almost exhausted when Mortoft was there, but the earthquake of 1703 filled it with new material. The flora of the Colosseum, once famous, has now disappeared, and the ruins have been scraped clean. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, pp. 375-379. Fifty years ago the interior was an uneven grassy space littered with masses of ruin, amidst which large trees grew and flourished. Hare, p. 167. It may be superfluous to add that wild beasts were not the only creatures to end their lives in the Colosseum, as Mortoft seems to think. An excellent example of the effect produced by this gigantic ruin on the most prosaic travellers is given by Fichard, a Frankfurt lawyer, who was in Rome in 1535. He describes it as the most beautiful of all monuments of antiquity. Nowhere else, he says, could one realise so well the majesty of the Roman people as in this wonderful work, with the sight of which one could never be satiated. *Italia*, in Frankfurt. Archiv, III (1815), p. 35, and Pastor, *History of the Popes* (Eng. trans.), XIII. p. 407.

Vatican

remaines of it to shew the grandeur and greatnesse of the Roman Emperors, it being made onely for their sport to behold Lyons and Wild Beasts fight one with another.

6 *January the 6th*, Being Twelfth Day, Mr. Hare, Mr Stanley and my selfe went to the Pope's Pallace to behold him in all his greatnesse, where wee saw some 35 Cardinals enter Into the Pallace one after another, Every Cardinal having a Gentleman before him to carry a great silver Mace, and many Gentlemen and attendants following, where followed 2 English Lords (My Lord Candish¹ and my Lord Rosse Commons),² Cardinal Burbarin, in regard he is esteemed to be the Protector of the English here in Rome.³

After this wee saw all the Cardinals enter in one after another into the Pope's Publique Chappel to heare Masse, and after all were entered then came the Pope with sound of Trumpett, in the greatest state and Pomp that possibly the greatest man upon Earth can desire.⁴

¹ William Cavendish, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, 1592-1676, whose life by his wife is well-known. He left England after the battle of Marston Moor and remained abroad until after the Restoration.

² Wentworth Dillon, 4th Earl of Roscommon, 1633-1685. Both he and Lord Cavendish are mentioned in a despatch from Rome dated 25th March, 1659, as being then about to leave for Naples. *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), 1658-1659, p. 314.

³ Francesco Barberini (1597-1679). Evelyn notes the same characteristic. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 77. Compare Bargrave, *College of Cardinals* (Camden Society), p. 16. "Every foreign nation hath some Cardinal or other to be their peculiar guardian. When I was four several times in Rome this Cardinal was the guardian of the English."

⁴ Alexander VII (1655-1667), Bargrave, p. 7, writes "I being at Rome when he was elected and living there some months after, his extraordinary devotion and sanctity of life, I found, was so much esteemed that the noise of it spread far and near." But the Pope had little authority, and four years later Bargrave records: "I being in Rome in 1659 found his name grown odious." Declaring that, like Melchisedek, he had no relatives, the Pope at first kept his nephews away from Rome, but he was gradually induced to give them employment. He delegated nearly everything to the Congregation of State, and spent so much time in the country that ambassadors had difficulty in obtaining audiences. D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 404.

He had a triple Crowne upon his head, but not that where with he was crowned, and seemed to mee to be a very handsome old man. He had a very great Diamant on his finger and a great case of Diamonds hanging at his Breast, his Robe was all of Cloath of silver imbroidered with gold, he was brought into the Chappel upon 8 Men's shoulders In his owne Chaire, which is of red Velvet imbroidered all about with his armes in gold. And all the way, as he was carryed from his owne Chamber to this Chappel, which was some 3 or 4 Romes distant, the People who were in Multitudes to behold him knelt all downe as he passed along, and he in crossing himselfe made as if he blest them. Afterwards, being set downe, he went up to the high Altar, where he sat downe in A seate which is there made for him, his Triple Crowne was taken from his head and A mitre put on by A Cardinal; then came all the Cardinals, one by one, and kissed his foote, and a little after, when some of the Ceremony of the Masse was performed, stood up a Jesuite and made An Oration to the Pope in Latin concerning the observation of the day. When the Masse was fully Ended, All the Cardinals went out of the Chappel, and the Pope being again taken up in the same pompous manner as formerly, was carryed again into his own Chamber, where, all the way, he blessed the people, and they crossing themselves as he passed by. Without doubt the greatest King or Emperour in the world could not be in a more splendid manner, and appeare more outwardly glorious to the world then this man did on this day.

The Pallace of this Pope is very large and magnificently built, so that for statelinesse it may compare with the greatest King's Pallace in Christendome.¹ It is seated upon one of the 7 Hills of Rome, called Mount Quirinal, and which is now called Monte Caval in regard of two horses

Monte Cavallo

¹ Mortoft returns to the Vatican later See below, pp. 129, 155.

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that are made in Marble, resembling Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander, and both made by several workemen, and yet resembling so much one to the other, that none can perceive any difference betweene them.¹

*Torre delle
Milizie*

A little from this place wee saw the Tower that was built by Nero,² wherein he stood to behold Rome on fire. It is built of bricke, very high and double, one made within another, and by the side of which is now built a Nunnery, so that no permission can be granted to any stranger to goe up into it.

The seaven Churches which are accounted most famous in Rome.

St. Peter's

The first is called St Peter in Vaticano,³ which without doubt exceeds all the Buildings in the world and may wel be said to exceed all the Churches in Christendome, and may well invite any Person out of his Countreye, if it were onely to have a sight of this stately and magnificent Building, the Richnesse and magnificence of which worke can never be to[o] much extold by any person.

¹ The Quirinal was known as Monte Cavallo, from the beautiful group of the horse-tamers, whose bases bear the names of Pheidias and Praxitiles. They are probably the work of the 1st or early 2nd century A.D. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 141 and pl. 48, showing the statues in 1550; Hare, p. 313. Nic Stone, who was in Rome in 1638, carries the story of Bucephalus a little further. "2 great statuas of white marble which figures Alexander the Great who tames his horse Bucephalus, which two statuas where made att Strife for fame by Fidia and Praxitelis." *Diary*, in Walpole Society's Volume, 1918-1919, p. 174.

² The Torre delle Milizie, taking its name from the De Militibus or Cavalieri family. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 64. The Nunnery is the Dominican Convent within the precincts of which the Tower stands. Hare, p. 321.

³ The demolition of Old St Peter's was begun by Julius II (1503-1513), but the façade and the front part of the nave remained standing until the time of Paul V (1605-1621), who built the new façade, which was completed in 1614. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 32. The church was dedicated in 1626 by Urban VIII. The dome was completed in 1590, and the golden ball was placed on the lantern surmounting the dome on 18th November, 1593. When Mortoft saw it it was practically complete except for the colonnade, which was building, and the Sacristy, which was erected by Pius VI in 1780. Marucchi, p. 110; Hare, p. 505; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 146; Tuck and Malleson, pt. 1, pp. 46 ff.

Before a man enters into this Church we may behold a very fine fountaine¹ in the same place wherein a Prince is building a very stately and magnificent walke,² and for the Building of which the Pope hath given him 7 yeares tyme. Out of this Fountaine the water rises in such a vehement manner, that it is enough to strike astonishment to a man that at first beholds it. Not farr from this fountaine is a very high Pyramid,³ they say, all of one stone, and was brought out of Egypt in the tyme of the Romans, being all carved about with Hieroglyphicks and Egyptian Letters, and upon which, and many other[s] that are in Rome, a Jesuite hath explained the meaning of those Letters in a Booke that he hath set forth. Before the Church are the statues of St Peter and St Paul.⁴ Then entring into the Church, one beholds the most stateliest piece of worke in the world.

The Foundation was laid by Constantin the great, and hath ever since been building by the succeeding Popes, and yet not finished.

The Church is of a most Vast Bignesse, and all the floore Paved with Marble and in many places with Porphir.

As one enters into the Right hand, going into the Chappel, is to be seene the very same pillar, as the Papists affirme, to which Christ leaned when he preached to the

¹ Only one fountain was then in existence, that by Maderno. The other fountain was not erected until the time of Innocent XI (1676–1689).

² The Colonnade, built by Bernini, and completed in 1667. Hare, p. 499.

³ The obelisk of the Vatican was brought to Rome from Heliopolis by Caligula. It was first used to adorn the Circus of Nero. It is a Roman imitation of an Egyptian monument and has no hieroglyphs. The obelisk was placed in its present position under Sixtus V in 1586. Its weight was estimated at about 500 tons, and 800 men, 115 horses and 46 cranes were employed in its removal. See the description of this exciting episode in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. III, p. 442, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 551, Hare, p. 500. The reference to the Jesuit is to Kircher, who in 1650 published his work, *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, in 3 vols. folio.

⁴ These two statues are now at the entrance of the Sacristy. The existing statues are modern.

curiously, Each of them waighing 24 thousand pound weight. This Altar, for the Rarenesse and invaluablenesse of the worke, may be esteemed inestimable. It is made almost round, where a little doore may be opened for the going downe a paire of Marble staires to a paire of gates that are gilded with gold, the Pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul on each side of the gates, and lamps continually burning within those gates, as also above 40 silver lamps above this Altar which burnes night and day.

Over this Alter at the 4 Corners are the Pictures of the 4 Evangelists, made most extreame lively in Mosaick worke. Over them, in A Round place, is the representation of Christ and his 12 Apostles, all in Mosaicke worke. Over them, in a higher Place, is drawne the Angels and Christ in the Clouds, all in Mosaicke worke, soe that this piece alone is esteemed to be one of the rarest and richest pieces of worke that ever was done in Christendome.¹

On the 4 sides of the Altar are 4 very excellent statues, carved in Marble, one is the statue of St. Andrew with his Crosse at his Backe, in which manner he was put to death, whose head, they say, is kept in a Place Just over this statue.²

In another Corner, is the statue of St. Veronica, who, the Catholicks hold as an article of their creed, tooke a Napkin and doubled it three tymes, and wiped our Saviour's face with it in the tyme of his Passion, and upon which Napkin, the Print of our Savior's face Remained. One of the folds, with the Print of his face, remain in a Rome over against this statue, and which is shewed in this Church to all Persons In the holy weeke,

¹ On these mosaics, after designs by the Cav. d'Arpino, see Hare, p. 510. The pen of St. Luke is 7 feet long.

² Hare, p. 511. The head is said to have been brought from Achaia in 1460. It is shown on the eve and feast of the Apostle. Besides the ordinary exposition the relic has been shown as a great favour to Sovereigns on three or four occasions. Tucker and Malleison, pt. 1. p. 75.

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as they call it, and this statue is so carved, that she seemes to hold a napkin in her hand, where one may see, cutt upon the Marble, a Visage Just as they say like to that on the napkin¹

Just against this statue is another of St. Hellen, extreamely well made and very lively, holding 3 great nailes in her hand to represent that three of the nailes that naid our Saviour to the Crosse are kept in a place Just over the statue, but I leave it to the pleasure of whoe will to beleewe. And whether they be the true nailes or noe, they are shewed, with a great piece of the Crosse also on the Easter weeke to thousands of People that for that purpose comes to see them.

At the 4th Corner is the statue of a Saint called Longinus, holding a lance in his hand, where one may read an inscription that the lance that pierced our Saviour's side is kept In a place over the head of this statue, and was sent by Bajacet, the great Turke, to the Pope, and is also shewd in Easter Weeke.

A little before one Approaches this Altar, stands against the wal the Image of St Peter in Brasse² as Patron of the Church, having a lamp continually burning before him, and some tymes a nose Gay in his hands to smell too ; to which every Person that comes into the Church shewes great Reverence, and, very rediculously, kisse his brasse toe and put their head under his foote, as A token that he and his Successors, the Pope, are heads of the Church, and which I observed, by people continually performing

¹ The statue is by Mochi. The shrine was profaned and the napkin dragged through the streets by drunken soldiers during the sack of Rome in 1527. It is exhibited to the faithful at Easter. On this relic, and the relic of Sacred Lance, and the statues of St Helen and St. Longinus, the soldier who pierced our Saviour's side, see Hare, pp 511-512 ; Tucker and Malleeson, pt. 1. pp. 63, 75.

² The statue in bronze is of uncertain date. Marucchi, p. 129, with illustration, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 141 ; Hare, p. 513. The right foot is now almost entirely worn away.

this Action, the brasse is much worne away upon his toe ; their being scarce a minute of an hower in the day but some person or other are performing this action.

At the upper end of the Church, on the left hand, is an Altar adorned with a statue of Marble, that by all relation never was seene a thing made more to the life, and whosoever lookes upon it will confesse as much. It is the relation of Attilus, King of the Goths,¹ who came to beseige Rome [] threatning from the Clouds to destroy both him and his Army if he proceeded further, and the Pope that was then by him to entreate him to with draw, and made in a posture of speaking to him, where the King is represented in that astonishing Posture when the two Saints appeared to him, looking up to heaven, that noe person can show astonishment and feare in his Countenance more then is represented in this Statue ; the truth is, every thing is made so lively, that it drawes astonishment in al persons that ever lookes upon it. It was made by one Signor Barnino, who is now alive in Rome, and who is accounted one of the most excellent in this Art in all Italy.

On another Altar there is a picture Representing the death of St Peter, how he was crucified, and another how Symon Magus was deceived by the Devil, when he flew up into the Aire, And another how the shadow of St. Peter cured sicke persons as he passed by. And Another how he cured the Sicke man at the Temple of Salomon.²

¹ The bas-relief by Algardi (about 1650), one of the largest in the world, is over the Altar of Leo I. Hare, p 518 ; Tucker and Malleson, pt. I p 81.

² On these pictures, see Hare, p 519. The legend of Simon Magus is related above. See p. 73, note ³. Also *The Painter's Voyage of Italy*, by W. L., 1679, p 2 : "Turning towards the Chair at the head of the Church, and having passed the said Chair, you see on your left hand a stately Picture which represents S Peter going to the Temple with S. John, and doing the miracle of curing the lame : a most superb work of Chivoli." (Lodovico Cigoli, otherwise Lod. Cardi da Cigoli, 1599-1613.) The picture has been destroyed, but drawings exist in the Uffizi. Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. p. 485.

All these, and many more, which are over the Altars, are drawne soe much to the life, and done by the most famousest Men In Europe, that every one of them are esteemed inestimable, and incomparable; and if they were not soe, they were not fitt to be placed in this Church, which may be counted the absolute wonder of the world

Not far from these formentioned Pictures is the statue of Pope Leo the 11th in marble, with the representation of Henry the 4th receiving the Catholicke Religion and his renouncing the Protestant¹, a piece, for the excellency of the worke, is fitt to be placed in this Church and noe where else.

Just over against this statue is a Tomb wherein the Body of the last Pope Innocent is inclosed,² but is shortly to be removed from thence, and is to be interred in a Church that is now in building in the Piazza Novo.

At the Lower end of the Church, on the left hand as one enters in, is the Chaire of St. Peter standing upon an Altar, and put in a covering made for that purpose,³ and is onely to be shewed but one tyme in a yeare, which Is on the 23rd of Jan. in which very day, they say, St. Peter came to Rome.

In this very Chaire, they say, St. Peter sat in when he came to Rome, which they hold as a very precious Relique, in soe much that the Pope's chaire is in the forme and fashion of it.

¹ Leo XI, d. 1605. The monument and the relief (by Algardi) are in the left aisle.

² Innocent X, d. 1655. The tomb beneath the arch over the door of the large choir chapel is reserved for the most recently deceased Pope, until his tomb and monument are completed. Hare, p. 521.

³ The bronze Cathedra of Bernini encloses the ancient chair, one of the most ancient thrones in existence, as to which see Marucchi, p. 127; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 140 (with illustration), Grisar, *Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), i. p. 289; Tucker and Malletson, pt. i. p. 61. It was last shown in 1867.

After wee had taken a View of this Church, wee went up into the Cupolo,¹ where is a Ball of Brasse on the topp of the steeple, which when one is on the ground seemes no bigger then a Man's head, in regard of the great high, and yet able to contain 20 men, but wee found small pleasure, in Regard of the trouble in getting up and downe, It being accounted from the ground up to this Copolo a full mile Soe going downe, wee at last came into the Church againe, which I may well write, without lying, to exceed the Temple of Solomon, for all the Popes have made it their utmost endeavour to adorne this Church with the rarest and Richest things that either Art, Nature or Riches could find out, and well they might bestow some cost upon St Peter's, seing St Peter hath been the making of them, and under the Title of his successors to make Emperors and Kings count it an honour but to kisse his foote.

The second Church called St^r. Mary Majora²

*S. Maria
Maggiore*

stands upon the Esquilin Hill, one of the seaven Hills of Rome. It is counted 312 feete in length and 112 in largenesse; most part of it is paved with Marble in Mosaicke worke.

It is reported that this Church was built upon this Account. There was a man in Rome some 600 yeares agoe, who having a very great estate and no children, did often pray to the Virgin Mary for a Child to Inherit his Estate, To whome one tyme the Virgin appeared,

¹ The copper ball on the summit of the Dome can still be visited. It admits 16 persons, but affords no view. Mortoft could have seen Evelyn's name scratched there. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 75.

² The Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore was founded in A.D. 352 by Pope Liberius and the Roman patrician, John, to commemorate the miraculous fall of snow referred to in the text. The legend is commemorated every year on the 5th of August, the festa of La Madonna delle Neve. Marucchi, p. 149; Hare, p. 389. The whole building was restored in 1575 by Gregory XIII and the interior completely renovated in the 18th century. Tukes and Malletson, pt. 1. p. 126

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and told him that in that place wherein he should find snow in the month of August, in that self same place he should with his treasure build a Church, who having found in this place in the foresaid Month, does build a Church to the honour of the Virgin and called it St. Mary Majora.

In this Church, they say, lyes under the high Altar the Body of St. Mathew, in which place a Lamp is continually Burning; and also on St. Mathewe's day the Priests shew a head which they verifeye to be his true head, where is yet some haire remaining on it¹

There are two Chappels in this Church, which for beauty and richnesse may compare with any in Europe, except that of the Grand Duke at Florence, of which there is noe comparison²; that on the left hand was made by Xistus Quintus, in which they say lyes the Body of St. Jerome.³ Against this is that most magnificent chappel of Pope Paul the 5th, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which Chappel on the high Altar, they say, is the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, made by St. Luke's owne hands.⁴ There is not a stone in this Chappel which is very great and high, but what is of pure Marble, the Poasts that are upon the High [Altar] are made of Ametyst, and as big about as a man can graspe with his

¹ Compare J. G. von Aschhausen, *Reise nach Rom*, 1612-1613. Stuttgart Lit. Verein, 1881 (vol. 155), p. 94: "Caput S. Matthiae und viel andere reliqua." The relic is still shown at Easter.

² On the chapel, see above, p. 54.

³ The Chapel, built for the Pope Sixtus V while still Cardinal of Montalto, a gem of Renaissance architecture. The remains of St. Jerome are said to have been brought to Rome in the middle of the 7th century by Pope Theodorus Murray, *Handbook*, 17th ed., p. 169; Armellini, p. 232; Hare, p. 395.

⁴ The Borghese chapel, built by Flaminio Ponzio for Pope Paul V in 1611. The picture of the Virgin and Child, now almost black, was carried in procession by St. Gregory the Great to stay the plague that desolated Rome in A.D. 590. Hare, p. 393; Murray, p. 169. The picture itself is so old and placed so high that it is hard to perceive the lineaments of the faces, "unless you see it with a waxe taper as I did" Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 158. It is curious that Mortoft does not notice the sacred Culla, consisting of five boards from the Manger at Bethlehem. Marucchi, p. 161.

Armes, which two stones are worth their waight in gold. This Chappel is soe Rich, that noe man [can] discribe it, but it must be left to the thoughts of others to Imagine, that nothing was wanting in that formented Pope (whose statue is in this Chapel made of Marble) to make it as rich and beautifull as art or cost could doe.

The third Church called S^t. Giovanni In Laterano,¹

*S. Giovanni
in Laterano*

about an Italian Mile from the forementioned Church, and stands upon the Mon Celio, another of the 7 Hills in Rome, and was built by Constantine the greate, and hath been since repaired by some of the late Popes. The day that wee were heere, which was on the 6th of January, wee saw by chance a great Crosse of silver that was given by Constantin him selfe to this Church, and hath beene ever since preserved here.²

There are in this Church two great pillars off Corinthian Brasse upon An Altar which, they say, were brought from the Temple of Solomon by Vespasian, and all full of the holy Earth that was tooke from the sepulcher of our Saviour,³ but whether it be true or not I know not.

On another Altar, which stands in the middle of the Church, they say, are kept the heads of S^t. Peter and

¹ This celebrated Basilica derives its name from the Roman family of Lateranus who had a palace here. Early in the 4th century it was conferred by Constantine on St. Sylvester as his episcopal residence, and the Emperor founded within it this Basilica. It was destroyed by earthquake in 896, and re-erected (904-911), and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In 1308 it was burnt down, but was restored by Clement V and decorated with paintings by Giotto. It was again burnt in 1360, and was again rebuilt. In 1644 the interior was much modernised by Borromini. Marucchi, p. 81, Hare, p. 401, Murray, p. 139, Tucker and Malleon, pt. 1, pp. 88 ff.

² Possibly this was discovered when the tomb of St. Sylvester was opened and the body found in 1648. See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 238.

³ On the columns (four) which flank the Altar of the Sacrament and which are said to have been brought from Jerusalem by Titus, see Hare, p. 405; Murray, p. 144.

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St. Paul,¹ as also the Garment of St. Stephen when he was stoned to death; And it is said, whensoever these heads are shewne, there is a generall Pardon given for three thousand yeares to those People which are present; and to those that come out of furre Countryes, and are present when they are shewn, there is pardon for them for 12,000 yeares, and the remission of the third part of there sins: and, if so, who would not come out of there Countryes to obtaine so many yeares out of Purgatory? but basta.

In a writing that hangs up in the Church one may read a discription of all the Reliques² that are in it, as among the rest I remember I read there that here was preserved the first shirt that our Saviour wore, and was made by the hands of the Virgin Mary. There is also, as the writing specifys, some of the water and blood that issued out of our Saviour's side when he was upon the Crosse, the Purple garment that our Saviour had when he went to his Crucifixion, as also the Towell wherewith he Wipt his disciples' feete at his last supper, one of the Teeth of St. Peter, with many more which I can as soone beleewe as remember.

Close by this Church is the place where Constantine was baptized by Pope Silvester,³ and beautified by Urban

¹ They are exposed on Easter Sunday and Monday and on several other occasions during the year. Montaigne describes them as having some flesh upon them and coloured and bearded as in life. "The face of St. Peter is fair, somewhat elongated, with a ruddy, almost sanguine, tint on the cheeks, and a forked grey beard, the head being covered with a papal mitre. That of St. Paul is dark, broad and latter, the head altogether being larger and the beard thick and grey." *Travels*, translated by W. G. Waters, 1903, II. pp. 156-157.

² This is reproduced in Nichols, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, p. 186.

³ The Baptistry, or church of S. Giovanni in Fonte, was erected by Constantine. The exterior and general arrangement of the interior have very probably been preserved, but the whole building was restored 1630-1650. The story of the baptism of Constantine in the Font is baseless. He was baptised at Nicomedia, by Eusebius, in 337. Murray, p. 147; Hare, p. 400. The frescoes are by Gemniano, Carlo Maratta and Andrea Camassei. Marucchi, p. 94.

the 8th, with many Pictures upon the wall, in relating his Battels and Conversions. The place wherein he was baptized is enclosed about with 8 Pillars of Porphir, in which is the font out of which he was baptized.

In una Capella di esso dedicato a S^t Giovan Battista, non si lasciano entrare femine, in memoria che una Donna fu causa della morte di S^t Giovan Battista. Il quale primo il publico il Battesimo, si dice che quelle colonne di porfido, che vi sono spirino d' odor di viole, se si fregano un poco, e che sono state portate dalla casa di Palato con una porta dell' istessa casa, e con la colonna, sopra la quale era il gallo che, cantando tre volte, ricordo a san Pietro le parole di Christo ¹

Close by this Church are the Holy staires,² which our Saviour Christ went up in Pilate's house, when he was whipt, and are said to be brought from Jerusalem by S^t Hellena, the Mother of Constantine ; which drawes moltitudes every hower of the day to goe up those stayres upon their knees for devotion, and no Person is suffered to doe otherwise. Noe, not the Pope himselfe, if his devotion leads him, which by the people's continually frequenting, the Marble is exceeding worne away, there are some 28 of them, there being not an hower in the day, but some or other are continually here for devotion sake, where one day I went up those staires upon my knees, and found it a great trouble [in regard trouble] in regard the great dent that were in every one of these staires,

Scala Santa

¹ I have not discovered from what work Mortoft mis-copied the passage, but the fact that women were not admitted into the baptistery is mentioned frequently. Compare, Capgrave, *Solace of Pilgrimes* (c. 1450), ed. by C. A. Miles, Oxford, 1911, p. 71, and Evelyn: "All women are prohibited from entering, for the malice of Herodias who caused him to lose his head" *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 77.

² The celebrated Scala Santa was injured in 879 by an earthquake, but was restored and set up in the old Lateran palace, whence it was removed to its present site. In Mortoft's time the stones were still bare, the wooden coverings not having been set up until later, under Clement XII. Marucchi, p. 99 ; Hare, p. 411 ; Murray, p. 148

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*Sancta
Sanctorum*

which are worne away by continuall frequentation, and so having wearied my self and suffered a little trouble for my curiosity ; and when I was at the Topp I saw a little Chappell, which is called the Holy of Holyes,¹ and wherein no woman is ever suffered to enter, In which place they say are kept these following Reliques.

The Arke of the Testament, The Rod of Aaron, The Table on which our Saviour made his last supper, A glasse wherein is preserved some of the blood of Christ and some of the Thornes of his Crowne, that was upon his head at his Crucifixion, one of the nayles where with he was nayled to the Crosse, The Bridle of Constantin's horse which was made of two of the nails wherewith our Saviour was naild to the Crosse, and the navil of our Saviour, and many other Reliques, which are never shewne to any person whatsoever. And the Pope himselfe hath permission but once in all his life to see them. But I leave it to others to believe whether all these Reliques are here in Reality or noe, and, if it be a lye, you have it as cheape as I. They say also there is the Picture of our Saviour at 12 yeares of age, designed by St Luke, and finished by an Angel.

*S. Lorenzo
fuori-le-mura*

The fourth Church is called St^t Lorenzo,² and built by Constantine, the Emperour, in honour of St^t Lorenzo, the Martyr, and about [] from the

¹ The relic which gives the church its peculiar sanctity is a picture of Our Saviour, placed there by Stephen III in 752, said to have been commenced by St. Luke and finished by an angel. The church is only open six times a year while the picture is being uncovered and covered. Wilpert in *L'Arte*, x (1907), pp 161, 247, Tucker and Malletson, pt 1. p. 104; Hare, p. 413, Murray, p 148, Armellini, p. 108, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 348 (with reproduction) Moryson, *Itinerary* (reprint), 1 p. 276, gives an equally long list of relics, so does Villamont, *Voyages*, Lyons, 1606, p 41, who adds: "Toutes lesquelles choses furent apportees de Hierusalem par Titus Empereur." See generally, P. Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, Paris, 1906 (Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires, vol. 5).

² S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura, said to have been founded by Constantine about A.D. 330. It was repeatedly enlarged and finally much altered by Honorius III in 1216. Marucchi, p. 477; Hare, p 429; Murray, p. 363, Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 142.

Church of St. Mary Majora, there remains still some 26 or 27 pillars of the ancient building, as also a very fine marble pillar, wrought about with Mosaick worke. Wee here saw one of the stones that put to death St. Stephen, with the Heads of some Saints In silver. Afterwards wee went downe under the High Altar, where wee saw a great Tomb of Marble, in which, they say, lyes the Bodyes of St. Stephen and Lorenzo. There is hanging by it a blacke stone, upon which, they say, many of the Martyrs were put to death.¹

Afterwards wee tooke, every one of us, a great Candle, and went downe under ground, being so narrow and low that wee were almost constrained to creepe along, and where the Man that went with us [showed] the places all along the moist earth, where the Bodyes of the Christians used to be buried, and going along this dismal and darke place, wee came at last to a place where a great quantity of there bones are preserved, as the Reliques of holyer men, I beleeve, then are at this tyme in Rome.²

The fifth Church is called St. Croce In Jerusalem,³ built on the Mount Celia by St. Hellen, there is 2 very faire sepulchers in this Church of blacke and white marble ; there is seene an Inscription on the High Altar that some of the Holy Earth that St. Hellen brought from Jerusalem is

*S. Croce in
Gerusalemme*

¹ Capgrave, *Solace of Pilgrimes* (c. 1450), ed. by C. A. Mills, p. 82, describes three stones, all bloody, which were thrown at St. Stephen. The stone on which St. Laurence was placed when taken off the grid-iron is still shown.

² The visit to the Catacombs of Cyriaca is interesting. They are now inaccessible, having been destroyed by the works in the modern cemetery. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 350; Tucker and Malleison, pt. 1 p. 522.

³ Founded in 331 by Constantine, and was probably a hall in the palace of the Empress Helena. It was rebuilt by Gregory II in 720 and underwent several alterations under later Popes. Mortoft saw it before the modernisation carried out under Benedict XIV in 1744. Murray, p. 177, Hare, p. 423; Marucchi, p. 345; Armellini, p. 795; Tucker and Malleison, pt. 1, pp. 138 ff.

there preserved¹ Here also is kept a part of our Saviour's Crosse, and the Title which [was] put over his head, in 3 Languages, by Pilate at his Crucifixion,² one of the 30 pence for which Judas betrayed him, and one thorne of the Crowne, with other things of great devotion; which are all shewed to People in the Holy weeke.

At the high Altar, upon the wall, is a representation of [a] very rare and ancient painting of many Saints bearing there Crosse, and the story of St Hellen's finding the Crosse, where everything is represented so extream lively that it is a great pleasure for any to looke upon it.³

qua Claudia

Close by this Church wee saw the vast Aqueducts of Claudius, the Emperor,⁴ where enough remains to make all men admire at the vastnesse of the Charge, and immensenesse of the building.

*Paolo
fuori-le-mura*

The sixth Church is called St. Paul,⁵

some two miles out of the City. It was built by Constantin, the great, where remains some 24 Pillars

¹ The inscription is given by Marucchi, p. 348

² The relics of the Cross are said to have been brought back by St. Helena from the Holy Land, and, according to tradition, the church possesses three large fragments at least. The title, in three languages, was re-discovered on Feb. 1, 1492, in a vault beneath the church. On a stone was the inscription: "Hic est titulus verae crucis" Nothing now remains but a portion of the inscription, much defaced, in Hebrew and Greek. Marucchi points out that the lettering is not very old, but may have been retouched. Marucchi, p. 350. The chapel of St. Helena in the crypt is closed to women except on one day in the year. See below, p. 160 note ³. On the relics here, see J. G. von Aschhausen, *Reise nach Rom*, 1612-1613, Stuttgart Lit. Verein, 1881 (vol. 155), p. 110.

³ The frescoes in S. Croce have been attributed to Perugino and Pinturicchio, but on doubtful grounds. Toker and Malletson, pt. I. p. 141.

⁴ The drawing, plate No. XL in Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, shows a section of the arches of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, which was incorporated in the Aurelian Wall to the E.S.E. of the Porta Maggiore, and the church of S. Croce, still in its old form. Ashby, p. 134.

⁵ S. Paolo fuori-le-mura founded by Constantine over the grave of St. Paul. This magnificent Basilica, until the Reformation under the protection of the British Crown, was destroyed by fire in 1823. Only the apse, the apostolic tomb, the triumphal arch, the southern section of the walls, and those portraits of the Popes which were painted there escaped. Marucchi, p. 138.

of marble, that remaine since the tyme it was built. Here is a very rich Chappell, where is a Picture over the high Altar concerning the death of St^t Paul, and the Pope and others lamenting over him when he was dead ; and for the livenessse and excellency of the Picture, it is esteemed one of the rarest pieces in the world.¹ On the topp, over the Altar, is the discription of Christ and his 12 Apostles in Mosaicke worke, wherein so much art is represented that it seemes almost naturall.²

Just over this Altar stands the high Altar, upheld with 4 great pillars of Porphyry, where underneath, they say, is buried the Bones of St^t Peter and St^t Paul.³ On [an] altar, on the left hand of this, is a most rare and admirable piece, representing the Conversion of St^t Paul.⁴ There is another Chappell, the Walls are made of pure blacke and white marble, the Rayles also, by which one goes to the Altar, are all of marble, made of such fine worke that I have not seene the like.

At the Lower End of this Church is a place where, they say, was found the head of St^t Paul, where is written, hic inventus fuit caput St^t Pauli Apostoli. Standing here one may see, painted on the wall on the back side of the High Altar, our Saviour Christ and his 12 Apostles, which, they say, was the worke of the Primitive Christians, and all made in white, and from which the Pope and his Cardinals take there Example to ware their under garment white.

Here is to be seene, in this Church, as is truely verified, A Crucifix that spoke to St^t Bridgett.⁵

¹ Apparently not preserved.

² These gigantic mosaics of the apse have been preserved. Marucchi, p. 140, with illustration

³ The sarcophagus of St. Paul, long obscured, is again visible since the reconstruction of the 19th century. The stone placed by Constantine bears the inscription. "Paulo Apostolo Mart." Marucchi, p. 142, with illustration.

⁴ The existing picture is by Camuccini (1773).

⁵ Compare *A True Description*, etc., Harleian Miscellany, XII. p. 102 : "Right against that chapel stands a crucifix, and Queen Bridget had a little window in the chapel thro' which she might see the crucifix,

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*S. Paolo alle
 Tre Fontane*

A mile from thence are 3 fountains which were made when St. Paul was beheaded,¹ which was in this place, where his head tumbling on the Earth, it leapt three tymes on three severall places, a little distant one from another, out of which 3 places came three fountaines of water, which at present are adorned and covered with Marble.²

S Sebastiano

The Church of St Sebastiano,³ called the seaventh Church,

stands in the Appian way, some 4 mile out of Rome, and al paved with marble ; here wee saw the place, which is under the Church, were, they say, were buried the Bodyes of St. Peter and St Paul, upon which place remains the representation of there two heads in Marble.

They keepe a stone here on which, they say, remaines the representation of the print of our Saviour Christ's foote,⁴ which he left when he appeared to St. Peter, which was on this sort. St. Peter, flying from Rome, was mett in the way by our Saviour, in a place where now Is a church, some halfe a mile on this side St Sebastian ; to whome St. Peter said, Domine quo vadis ? to whome our Saviour answered againe, I goe againe to be crucified,

where she did her devotion with such fervency that the crucifix turned and looked towards the window, and stands so to this day." It is still shown in the chapel of the Crucifix. Murray, p 404.

¹ Chapel of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane. Rebuilt in 1599 Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1, p 123 "The waters are reported to be medicinal over each is erected an altar and a chained ladle for better tasting of the waters" Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 87

² Compare *A True Description*, etc, Harleian Miscellany, xii. p. 102 "At every leap it called 'Jesus,' and presently after there sprung up three springs . . . by each one doth hang a copper little pan out of which the people use to drink. Whoso drinks out of these springs shall attain everlasting salvation."

³ The church of S Sebastiano stands over the spot where the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul were brought for concealment during the persecutions of the 3rd century. It is first mentioned in an inscription of 417, now on the walls of the Lateran Museum. It was entirely rebuilt in 1611. Marucchi, p. 490, Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1, p. 135 ; Hare, p. 291 ; Murray, p. 422.

⁴ The footprint is still shown in the Chapel of Relics.

whereat St Peter tooke soe much courage that he returned backe to Rome, and our Saviour, vanishing from him, left the Print of his foote on the Stone where he stood, which is now kept in this same Church of St Sebastian, but whether this is true I know not, onely it must be taken as a narration of the Papists, who wil not spare sometymes to tel bouncers,¹ especially if it may advance their Romish Church.

A little from this Church is A Great sepulcher built of vast marble stones, like a high Tower, wherein is interred the Daughter of Marcus Crassus, as appeares by the letters on the wals of it.²

*Tomb of
Cecilia Metella*

Here are many Antiquities of the Ancient Romans yet standing, and here wee saw the Circo³ where the Romans used to Run races with their Couches and horses, in the middle of which place stood a Pyramid, or Guglio,⁴ which is now set up by St. Peter's church.

*Circus of
Maxentius*

The seaven Hills⁵ upon which at [*sic*] Rome was first built.

Seven Hills

The Capitol, which in the tyme of Tarquinius had more then 60 Temples great and small belonging to it. This Hil was guirt about with a Wall and called the Chamber of the gods.

1

¹ Bouncers The earliest use of this word in this connection recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary is in 1805

² This is the tomb of Cecilia Metella, daughter of Quintus Metellus Creticus and wife of Crassus (68 B C), a round tower 90 feet in diameter, faced with travertine Hare, p. 295, Murray, p. 424 It is curious that Mortoft did not penetrate into the Cemetery ad Catacumbas beneath the church of S. Sebastiano. There is a long description in Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II pp. 91 ff

³ The Circus of Maxentius erected in honour of Romulus, the son of Maxentius, A.D. 311. Murray, p. 423; Hare, p. 295

⁴ The Pyramid, now in the Piazza Navona, of red granite covered with hieroglyphs and broken in five pieces. Murray, p. 196; Hare, p. 469 Lassels, II. p. 96, adds the following: "I saw it lye here broken in three pieces and neglected quite, till the Earle of Arundel, our late Lord Marshal, offering to buy it, and having already deposited three score crownes in earnest for it, made the Romans begin to think that it was some fine thing, and stop the transporting of it into England."

⁵ The Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline and the Caelian were, like the Aventine, almost uninhabited until after the Renaissance

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2

The Pallatine, or great Pallace, which now contains only a garden and ruins of ancient Buildings, here used to be the Pallace of the Emperors, Of Cicero, of Hortensius, and of Cataline.

3

The Aventine, upon which were the first dwellings of the Popes.

4

The Celio, whereon is the Church of Giovanni in Laterane, and of St Croce in Jerusalem. I[n] this place was the great Aqueduct made by Cl[au]d[us], the Emperor.

5

The Esquiline, where is the Church of St Pietro in Vincola; on which formerly was the house of Virgil, and garden of Mecenas.

6

S. Pudenziana

The Viminal, where is the Church of St Pudentiana,¹ here was formerly the house of Crassus, and the Baths of Agrippina, the with [*sic*] of Claudius.²

7

The Quirinal, which is now called the Monte Cavallo, where stood the house of Catullus³; and where now

period. By the 17th century the various regions were becoming fairly thickly inhabited Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III 2, p 819 Since the extensive building operations of recent years and the levelling process of the Piano Regolatore the formation of the Seven Hills is no longer discernible "It is only while traversing the streets which descend to cross the depressions between these classical eminences that the traveller becomes conscious of any perceptible rise and fall" Murray, p. 59

¹ The church of S. Pudenziana is supposed to be the most ancient Christian church in Rome, and was in early times the cathedral of the Christian city It occupied the site of the house of the Senator Pudens, where Peter lodged from A.D. 41 to 50, and where he converted Pudens and his daughter, and baptised many thousands of converts It was consecrated by Pius I, A.D. 145, and several times restored, notably in 1597. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p 112; Armellini, p 192, Marucchi, p. 364; Tucker and Malletson, pt 1 p. 328; Hare, p 327.

² Ancient documents mention several bathing establishments here, among them the Thermae or Lavacrum Agrippinae, which certain topographers also place close to S. Lorenzo in Panis-Perna, where two statues of Bacchus were found with the inscription "in lavacro Agrippinae." Marucchi, p. 364 Compare Fichard, *Italia*, in Frankfurt. Archiv, III. (1815), p 39: "Haud procul a S. Laurentio in parte quae S. Vita em despicit, lavacrum Agrippinae," and Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 71: "On the left is the Therma Novatii, and on the right Agrippina's Lavacrum." The baths of Novatus are beneath the church of S. Pudenziana, but have nearly disappeared in the course of laying foundations for new houses. Murray, p 164; Hare, p. 328.

³ The houses of Catullus and Crassus were on the Palatine. Hare, p. 223.

the Pope has his Pallace, which for largenesse and excellentnesse of Building may give place to none in Christendome.

January the 7th, wee went to the Queene of Sweedland's 7 Pallace,¹ which is close by the Pallace of the Pope, and belongs to Cardinall Mazarine, where wee saw her in her chamber converse with many Gentlemen that came to heare Musicke that night. It being her custome every Wensday night to have the best Muscitianers at her Pallace, she being much delighted in Musicke. She is a Woman but of a low stature, yet of a very manly Countenance, and, by all Relation, one of the greatest wits and spirit[s] of [*sic*] in this Age, her whole delight and pleasure being to converse with Men of Witt and spirit, not caring for the Company of Women. Here she was very merry, holding discourse sometymes with one man, and sometymes with another, so that the Melody of the Musicke could bee but little observed, in regard of her continual talking and walking up and downe. I remember she had on her a Velvet Jerkin, with a Red sattin petticoate layd all about with white lace, and little buttons in every seame where the lace went, with a Blacke scarfe about her necke, and a Blacke hood, with a great lace on it, upon her head. At present the report goes that she is much out of the Pope's favour, and the Italians doe not so much respect [*her*] as when she came first to Rome; yet she alwayes seemes to be very merry and jocond, noe adversity being able to daunt her, being extreemly ambitious and desirous to live in all the Pomp and splendor that any Earthly person can desire.²

*Queen of
Sweden's
Palace*

¹ See above, p. 62, note ².

² On the Queen of Sweden, see above, p. 62, note 2. Even with Pope Alexander VII, whose name she added to her own on her conversion, she was very frequently involved in the most bitter contentions. Ranke, *History of the Popes* (Bohn's Lib.), II. p. 405.

1659—Jan. 14

*S. Maria in
Campitelli*

January the 14th wee went into a Church on one side of the Campidoglio,¹ where wee saw, at the upper end of it, an Ancient Pillar of Orientall Marble, which lookes as cleare and bright as Christal, so that one may looke through it, and yet as hard as any white marble; it [is] such a rare piece that the like is hardly to be found again in Europe. They say it was found under ground, among other antiquities of the Romans, and placed in this Chappell as one of the curiosities that a man can possibly see. Not farr from this place wee saw the house where Pilate lived before he went to Jerusalem, which is built of bricke, and the fabricke, though old and ruinous, standing in the same forme as formerly.²

*House of
Crescentius**Ovid's House?*

Just over this place remains the Ruins of Ovid's house, which one might perceive to have beene a most stately Building.³

*S. Maria del
Sole*

Going a little from this place [is] the Temple that was dedicated to Vesta,⁴ though at present turned into

¹ S. Maria in Campitelli or in Portico, rebuilt in 1659 to receive a miraculous image of the Virgin, which is said to have stayed a pestilence in 1656. In one of the ovals at the base of the Dome are two portions of a spiral column of translucent oriental alabaster found in the neighbouring Porticus of Octavia. See Erra, *Storia dell' imagine e chiesa di S. Maria in Portico di Campitelli*, Rome, 1750, Marucchi, p. 516, Murray, p. 243; Tuke and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 271. Compare *A True Description*, etc., Harleian Miscellany, xii p. 100. "Wherein you shall see behind the great altar a pillar that shines and lights like a torch day and night."

² The House of Crescentius, better known as the Casa di Rienzo, often called Casa di Pilato, a remarkable brick building in two stories with capitals, friezes and ornaments. It has no connection with Cola di Rienzo, having been built by Nicholas, son of Crescentius. Murray, p. 249; Hare, p. 179. Compare *A True Description*, etc., Harleian Miscellany, xii p. 101. "It is almost altogether ruined, and no man can safely dwell therein by reason of continual hurly-burles or terrible appearances." See also *Description of Rome 1612-1613* in Aschhausen, *Gesandtschafts-reise nach Rom*, Stuttgart Litt. Verein, 1881, p. 199: "Palatium Pilati propter manes inhabitabile." There is a fine old view of the house in Egger, *Romsche Veduten*, 15-18 *Jahrhundert*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911, plate 55.

³ I cannot explain this reference. Is Mortoft possibly referring to the temple of Fortuna Virilis?

⁴ This elegant little round temple by the Tiber was in the 16th and 17th centuries generally identified (though quite wrongly) with the

a Chappell, it is built round, the ancient forme standing, Having the 24 Pillars of marble Remaining, which was the worke of the Romans.

Close by this place is the Temple of Janus,¹ where remains most part of it intire, all built of Marble, About which is to be seene the places where the Statues of the dayes and months of the yeares stood.

Janus
Quadrifons

Close by this place is the Tryumphant Arch that was made to the honour of Septimus Severus by the Marchants of Rome² Upon this Arch is engraven the manner of the Roman sacrifice, and how the Priests hold the Beasts that were to be sacrificed to the gods. There is also a Marke of the holy fire, and the place where they used to put it, with all things on this Arch that concerned the ceremony.

Arch of the
Money
Changers

There is close by this Arch A Temple that was dedicated to Hercules, Which place is now turned into a Church, and was formerly the place where St Augustin taught schoole in.³ Going downe 4 or 5 steps into this Church

S. Maria in
Cosmedin

Temple of Vesta, also with that of Fortune It is now believed to have been a temple of Matuta It was turned into a church in the 12th century and dedicated to St. Stephen. In 1560 it acquired the name of S. Maria del Sole, from a miraculous picture of the Virgin which was found floating down the Tiber, and which is said to have shed rays like the sun Marucchi, pp. 519–520, Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 72, Armellini p. 611, Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 518

¹ Janus Quadrifons, as it is now called—a four-way arch built of blocks of marble and belonging to the 4th century A.D. There were mediaeval buildings on the top in Mortoft's time, but these were removed in 1827 A drawing of 1581 is given in Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, plate VIII. Compare, *ibid.*, p. 74; Murray, p. 253, Hare, p. 174

² The smaller arch, also called Arch of the Money Changers, erected A.D. 204 by the silversmiths and cattle-merchants of the Forum Boarium to Septimus Severus, his wife Julia Pia, and their sons Caracalla and Geta. As in the case of the larger arch, the dedication relating to Geta was obliterated after his murder. Hare, p. 176, Murray, p. 253 A drawing by Heemskerk showing the Janus, the Arch of Severus and S. Giorgio, is given in Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 521.

³ S. Maria in Cosmedin, an early foundation on the site of a Roman Temple, restored by Adrian I in 782 in the form of a Basilica. Being intended for a Greek colony in Rome, and having a schola attached, it acquired the name of S. Maria Schola Graeca. Marucchi, p. 270; Toker and Malleson, pt. 1 p. 273; Murray, p. 251; Hare, p. 176.

1659—Jan. 14

*Bocca della
Verità*

is to be seene, on the Left hand, A huge round Iron with A most horrible visage in the middle of out [*sic*], out of which the Devil used to give his Oracles to the Heathens.¹

A little from this wee came to the Pallatin Hill where formerly was Cesar's house, the ruins of which are yet standing and reach at least halfe a mile in length, by which it may be conjectured that the greatnesse of those men's minds did farr exceed the spirits of these dayes²

*Baths of
Caracalla*

A little way from this Place are the Baths of the Emperor Caracalla,³ which are esteemed to be the most largest and Vastest buildings in Rome, but not admitted to be seene by any stranger, in regard the Jesuits have the place in their power and permits it not.

*Monte
Testaccio*

Wee then went some halfe a mile off, and came to a place that is called Monte Testatia,⁴ in regard there is about a mile in compasse and so high and steepe that it tires any person to get upon it, and this place came soe onely with broken potts and earthen things, which is

¹ This is Mortoft's description of the Bocca della Verità, a large round face with open mouth, which possibly served as the mouth of a drain for the escape of rain water. It was supposed to detect false witnesses "The people used to run thither to inquire after unknown things as, complaining of adultery, or such like, the party suspected putting his finger into that mouth did swear his innocence and he or she that did swear falsely, the mouth did bite of his finger, credat qui volet." *A True Description*, etc., Harleian Miscellany, XII p. 101

² The ruins of the Palatine were at one time always known as the Palaces of the Caesars

³ Or Thermae Antoninianae, in their day the most magnificent in the world, and now the best preserved. They were commenced by Septimus Severus in A.D. 206, chiefly built by Caracalla, and completed by Severus Alexander. They covered an area of 140,000 square yards and had 1,600 marble baths. Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 535; Murray, p. 408; Hare, p. 265. Drawing in Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, plate xxxiv and pp. 125 ff.

⁴ Monte Testaccio, an isolated mound about 115 feet in height, with a circumference at the base of half a mile. It is entirely formed of broken vases used by the Romans for the conveyance of agricultural produce. Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 532; Hare, p. 612; Murray, p. 397. Nic. Stone, Jr. (1639) adds that it was "very large and growne over with short grasse" *Diary*, Walpole Society's Volume, 1918-1919, p. 173.

conjectured to be broken here by the Romans, and were formerly things used for their sacrifice, before they knew the use of better mettle for that purpose, and afterwards they brought all their Vessels of sacrifice to this place, which being broke to pieces here, made this hill so high, which is a thing worth being noted ; there is noe earth there, but all broken pots and earthen ware.

Close by this Hil are the old Wals of the Citty built by Bellisarius, Captaine General to the Emperor Theodosius. Here is also A Pyramid which is built halfe within the wals and halfe without, and is Called Nec in Urbe, nec in Orbe. The Body of Sestius, A great Eater, being buried in it, and was so built after his death by his commandment in his life tyme.¹

*Pyramid of
Cestius*

Afterwards wee went to a Commodity which is acted every night behind the Duke of Farnese's Pallace,² and is to continue so til Ash wensday ; where was a Representation of Queen Elizabeth and the Earle of Essex, where indeed she that acted the Part of Queen did so admirable well and with so much grace that all that came to see it had great content and satisfaction, and since it is reported that there is a Roman hath offered 300 Crownes to have a night's Lodging with her.

¹ The Pyramid referred to is the tomb of Gaius Cestius Epulo, successively member of the college of 7 epulones in whose charge were the banquets in honour of the gods, tribune of the people and praetor Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p. 138, with illustration at p. 139, showing the pyramid before the restoration of 1663. Murray, p. 400 ; Hare, p. 610. It is built partly within and partly without the wall of Aurelian, who included it in his line of fortifications. The Porta S. Paolo adjoining was rebuilt by Belisarius Murray, p. 400 On his defence of Rome against the Ostrogoths (537-538), see Gibbon, ed. Bury, 1909, iv p. 326, and *Cambridge Medieval History*, II p. 15.

² On this theatre see Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage d'Italie* [1654], in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze storiche*, vol. III Rome, 1906, p. 182 : " Le theatre de Comédiens est infame ils le font des escuyries de Farnese, et tout à l'entour on fait des loges qui sont estroites et incommodes "

1659—Jan. 15

*S. Maria in
Ara Coeli*

January the 15th, wee went to the Church that stands upon the Capitol Hil,¹ where is an Order of Franciscan Friars, and where one mounts up unto it by 124 large steps, all of marble. It is a very large and stately Church, and adorned with many Rich Chappels and Altars. All the floore of it being paved with Marble.

At the upper end of the Church, close by the High Altar, is a place where they say one of the Sybils appeared to Augustus Cesar, and shewed him the Virgin Mary and Our Saviour in her Armes when he had an intent to be deified for a god, upon which sight was layd by that vane desire. And here they say, for the holynesse of the Place, St^e Hellen, the mother of Constantine, had a desire to be buried, where in a Coffin of Porphyry they say her Body lyes Interred, which is all about inclosed with great Pellars of Marble, and just under it a Lamp continually burning.²

Il Gesù

From thence wee went to the Church of the Jesuits, which is called the grand Geesu,³ which is a very large and stately Church And adorned with a multitude of Rich Chappels and Altars about. At the upper end of the Church lyes interd Cardinal Bollarmine, where over his Tomb hangs his Cardinal's Hatt⁴ Wee came here at the

¹ S. Maria in Ara Coeli. The church is at least as old as the 6th century, having been dedicated by S. Gregory the Great as Sancta Maria in Capitolio. The present name dates from the 14th century and is derived from an altar erected by Augustus to commemorate the prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl respecting the coming of Our Saviour, which is still recognised in the well-known hymn of the Church "Teste David cum Sibylla." Marucchi, p. 238, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 24, Murray, p. 34, Hare, p. 99, Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 190.

² The red porphyry urn, said to contain the relics of S. Helena, is in the Cappella di S. Elena. Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 194.

³ The Church of Il Gesù was built by Cardinal Farnese in 1575 and was the principal church of the Society of Jesus. Marucchi, p. 510; Murray, p. 33; Hare, p. 75, Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 234.

⁴ Cardinal Bellarmine, the celebrated controversialist, 1542-1621, born in Tuscany, ordained priest at Ghent, after which he came to Rome and lectured on controversial theology.

same tyme that A Jew, his Wife, and Children were baptized by a Jesuite,¹ where was present many great Persons, and among the Rest Don Augustine (who is the Pope's Nephew and made a Prince),² with his wife, who was God mother to one of the Children. She had a Coach heere, which for Richnesse might be wel admired by all that sees it, Being all of red Velvet inbrodered all over with gold and silver, and the furniture for the horses of the same worke ; and without doubt surpasses any Coach in Rome, except that which was given by the Pope to the Queen of Sweedland, which has noe equall.³

January the 16th, being St. Anthonie's day,⁴ which ¹⁶ was held by the Catholickes to be a very holy man in doing many strange miracles in his life tyme, and accounted the Patron of horses, for which cause all the horses as is beleaved that was in Rome were lead to this Church which is called by his name, and standing close by the Church of St Mary Maggiora, where at one of the doores stood a young Priest with a kind of a Brush in his hand and some holy water by him, and as the horses came by he gave them St Anthonye's Benediction, in sprinkling some water upon them, and every horse went about three tymes, and so had it in the name of the father,

*Blessing of
the Horses*

¹ Jewish baptisms were among the sights of Rome at this time. Compare J Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 112 Evelyn saw a Jew and a Turk baptised, and was asked to stand as godfather, but the Jew was believed to be counterfeit *Diary* (Globe ed), p 104 *The Fugger News Letters*, ed. by V. Klarwill (Eng trans), 1924, pp 197, 220, record baptisms in 1596 and 1599.

² Don Agostino, nephew of Alexander VII, received singular favour at the hands of his uncle Ranke, *History of the Popes* (Bohn's Lib.), II p. 366 There are several references to him in P J Elsius, *Diario Europaeo*, Frankfurt, 1659, etc., II vols ; extracts in Scheible's *Kloster*, VI pt 1 pp 39 ff He seems to have led a wild and extravagant life.

³ On this coach, see Gaudenzio Claretta, *La Regina Cristina di Svezia in Italia*, Turin, 1892, p 31. It seems to have been designed by Bernini. *Ibid.*, p. 28, and with it were "sei bellissimi corsieri"

⁴ The annual blessing of the horses and cows at the church of S Antonio Abbate continued as long as the Papal rule lasted. Hare, p 387.

1659—Jan. 16

sonne and Holy ghost, and this was his worke from Morning to night, there being an infinite number of Coaches and horses heere all this day, and abundance of gentrye in them, Being very desirous, it seemes, to be pertakers with their Horses in St Anthonye's Benediction.

- 17 *January the 17th*, wee went to St Peter's Church in the Vattican, where saw another Ceremony. On this day it is held that St Peter came first to Rome, for which cause his Chaire, which stands upon an altar on the left hand as one goes in[to] the Church, and was exposed to publicke view, where all Persons that came into the Church were very Ambitious to have their Beads and Chaplets touch the side of the Chaire, which was two or three persons worke to doe from Morning to night.¹ And I dare affirme truely there were more Beads touched the side of the chaire this day then would load a Cart.

There were also, the more to Honour St Peter, about 25 Cardinals to heare Masse, and also very excellent Musicke made by at least 20 Eunuchs, whose voyces made such melody that one's eares received farr more contentment with hearing that Melodious and harmonious Musicke, then one does with beholding St Peter's pretended Chaire.

- 18 *January the 18th*, which was Sunday, wee went in the morning to the Greeke Church,² to see their Ceremony of the Masse, which is farr different from the Roman Masse, using the same Ceremonies as the ancient Greekes did in former tymes. After wee had been there about

S. Atanasio

¹ On the chair, see above p 84, note ⁸. A feast of St Peter's Chair is mentioned in a sermon attributed to St Augustine, and in a canon of the second Council of Tours, 567. Paul IV, in a Bull of 1558, complains that the feast of St Peter's Chair was being forgotten, and ordered that the feast should be celebrated on January 18th. Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1907, etc., art. Chaire de S Pierre, Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, 1917, art. Cathedra, Hare, p. 517.

² S. Atanasio, founded by Gregory XIII in 1577. Hare, p. 39; Murray, p 15; Tukes and Malleson, pt 1 p. 195.

18 Jan.—1659

Gesù e Maria

two howers wee went to a Church called Giesu Maria,¹ were was celebrated the feast of the late Canonized Saint, Thomasia della Villa Nova,² of the ordre of the Augustin Fryers, and which was Canno[n]ized for a Saint here in Rome about 5 or 6 months agoe.

The Church, the more to honour this new saint, was hung about with red and yellow Taffaty, and all the richest Ornaments belonging to the Church set out upon the Altars. Here was also extreame good Musicke. And, the more to honour this Saint, there came the Queen of Sweedland and heard Masse. There was also most sweet Music at the Spanish Church³ in the Piazza Nova, In regard this saint, that was so much honoured this day, was a spanyard.

On the Afternoone wee passed by a place that is called Monte della Pietà,⁴ and takes that name upon this Account. Pope Xistus Quintus appointed this house out of Charity to decayed Men, that if any wanted money, and brought any goods or Jewels to this house, those things soe brought should be valued at the Best Rate, and the Owner should have the third part in money of what they were valued for, and at 9 months end, if he had noe mind to lay downe as much money as he tooke up, they should be sold to the full value, and he to have all the money without paying any use for the former.

*Monte di
Pietà*

¹ The church of Gesù e Maria (1640), belonging to the barefooted Augustinians Murray, p 6, Hare, p 44

² Archbishop of Valencia His canonization is recorded in P. J. Elsius, *Diario Europæo*, Frankfurt, 1659, etc., under date 1658, October 21; extract in Scheible's *Kloster*, vi pt. 1. p. 38

³ This must be S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in the Piazza Navona, founded by an Infante of Spain in the 12th century and restored in 1450. Murray, p. 196.

⁴ The Monte di Pietà was established as a pawnshop on a large scale in 1539 to check the usury of the Jews. The movement was supported by Paul III and succeeding pontiffs, and the Pope's own treasurer, assisted by 40 Roman cavaliers, took charge of the institution. Murray, p 233, Hare, p 459. On these Institutions in general see Nibby, *Roma nell' anno* 1838, Rome, 1838-1841, II. p 102.

1659—Jan. 18

*Trinità dei
Pellegrini*

From this place wee went to a kind of An Hospital built by the same Pope for the Relief of Pilgrims,¹ where there is allowance for all Pilgrims that comes to Rome for 3 dayes, that is to say, 3 suppers and 3 nights' lodgings, and in the yeare 1650, it being then the Holy yeare as they call it, Pope Innocentius came himselve and served them in his owne person.

Close by this place is an Hospitall Appointed by the same Pope for all Inhabitants in Rome that are not able to worke ; that is to say Either blind, Lame, or Aged, and they may come, soe they have been Borne in Rome, and lawfully claime maintenance as long as they like.

*Monte
Janiculus**S. Pietro in
Montorio*

Afterwards wee went up to the Hill which was formerly called Monte Janiculus,² in regard Janus was there buried, but is now called Monte Pietro, and that upon this Account. Wee here saw in A Chappell upon this Hil,³ going downe some marble stairs, a Round grate of Iron, on which very place stood the Crosse, as they say, whereon St Peter was crucified, and this Chappell built in this place for that reason.

Adjoining to this Chappell is A Church built, on the High Altar of which is one of the most livelyest pictures that ever was done by any mortal Person, and wherein the Lymner has shewed soe much Art that more cannot

¹ The Trinità dei Pellegrini, founded in 1584, which still provides accommodation for pilgrims. Here in Holy Week the members of the confraternity, amongst which were princes, prelates and cardinals, used to wash the feet of twelve poor pilgrims and serve them at table. Hare, p. 459.

² Monte Pietro, Monte Janiculus. The Janiculan, a steep crest or ridge culminating in Monte Mario, which rises abruptly on the west bank of the Tiber and breaks imperceptibly away on the other side into the Campagna. Hare, p. 644.

³ The church of S Pietro in Montorio was built for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (1472) on the site of an early church which marked the spot then supposed to be that of St Peter's crucifixion. The celebrated temple built by Bramante in the court is supposed to mark the actual spot where the end of the Cross was fixed. Raphael's "Transfiguration," now in the Vatican, was originally in this church, and remained there until the French invasion. Marucchi, p. 461; Hare, p. 656; Murray, p. 358; Tukes and Malletson, pt. 1. p. 313.

be expressed. It is concerning the transfiguration of our Saviour, where every motion is made so lively that noe lively person can better represent those actions then is on this picture. It was made by one Raphael, who shewed how excellent he was in this Art by the Art he hath represented in this piece.

In a Chapel in the same Church is the discription of St Francis Languishing for devine Love and upheld by two Angels, made in white Marble¹; as Also the head of the Cardinal that adorned this Chapel with that rare statue, and who dyed some two yeares agoe, and both made by one Barnino,² who is now alive in Rome.

Wee had on this Hill a very fine prospect of Rome, being one of the fittest places about Rome for that purpose.³ From hence wee descended downe the Hill and went to a Church called St Maria Trastenian,⁴ where wee saw a place, close by the High Altar, out of which It is reported Issued oyle the same day that Our Saviour was Borne, and over flowed all the place, and over which place is written two Verses.

*S. Maria in
Trastevere*

Nascitur hic Oleum, Deus ut de Virgine utroque
Oleo Sacratum est Roma terrarum Caput.⁵

There is also in this Church a Chappel, where on the wals of one side of it, is the discription of the

¹ The St. Francis is by Giov. de Vecchio.

² The adjoining chapel contains a number of sculptures of the school of Bernini.

³ The view of Rome from this point is almost unrivalled. Murray, p. 360, Hare, p. 658

⁴ S. Maria in Trastevere, said to have been founded by Callixtus I under Alexander Severus, on the spot where a spring of oil welled forth at the time of Christ's birth. It is first mentioned in 499, and was re-erected by Innocent II about 1140 and consecrated by Innocent III in 1198. Mortoft saw the church before the present vestibule was added in 1702. Marucchi, p. 428; Murray, p. 266, Hare, p. 601; Tuke and Malleson, pt. 1. p. 291, Armellini, p. 637.

⁵ The spot where the oil gushed forth is still marked by a grated cavity, and two Latin epigraphs remain.

1659—Jan. 18

Council of Trent,¹ how they sat to Condemne Luther, and also of the 6 Cardinals that were appointed by Pope Pius Quintus to convince Luther of his opinions, with the Picture of Luther sitting in a chaire before them, and the Secretary behind him; which Secretary caused this Picture to be drawne in his life tyme, and was interred in this Chappel. Just over against this, is the expression of the same Pope in council with the 6 Cardinals about those opinions that were alledged by Luther against the Church of Rome. This Church is paved with ancient Marble, and the sealing al goulded in a very Rich manner, it being that Cardinal's Ambition, who tooke his name from this Church, to make such a Rich sealing her[e] that it should excel al other Churches. in Rome.

S. Cecilia

From this Church wee went to a Church which is called St Cecilia,² where under the high Altar lyes her statue in white marble, and that for this reason. They say that about 30 yeares agoe her Body was found under this Altar whole and unputrified, with a linnen cloth about it, which had been dead about 400 yeares agoe, and for which cause they made her statue in the same forme as it was found under this Altar.

At the lower end of the Church wee saw a Tomb of one Adam that was formerly Bishop of London who, coming

¹ Painted in 1588-1589 for Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps by Pasquale Cati (1550-1620) See Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. p 186.

² The church of S Cecilia was built on the site of the house of the Saint. It was founded in 230, restored by Gregory the Great, rebuilt by Pascal I in 821, and entirely remodelled in 1599. In that year the tomb was opened, and the Saint was seen by Stefano Maderno in the attitude he has reproduced in the statue now in the church. Compare *Fugger News-Letters*, ed by V. Klarwill (Eng trans), 1924, p 224. "In the church Cecilia in Trastevere there has been discovered the corpse of the Saint and Holy Martyr Cecilia, perfectly preserved, a linen cloth over her face and dressed in such guise as she went to her martyrdom eight hundred years ago" Report from Rome, October 23, 1599. Marucchi, p. 438, Murray, p. 263, Hare, p. 591; Tucker and Malleson, pt. 1. p. 208.

to Rome, dyed here, and was buried in this place in the yeare 1396, as by the writing under this Tomb appears¹

From this Church wee went to the Church of St Bartholomew, which is soe called in regard they say his Body is here Buried, wee saw the place where it lyes, it was brought to Rome about 3 or 400 yeares agoe by the Christians and interred in this Church in A Tomb of Porphir² Just against this Tomb is a pretty high round stone under which they report is a well, which water runs under the Tomb of St Bartholomew and, if wee will beleeeve them, doth many great cures.

*S. Bartolommeo
all' Isola*

January the 20th, wee went to a Church not farr from 20 the Pope's Pallace, called St Maria della Victoria.³ In which Church is a statue called Santa Tarasea languishing for charity and wounded by An Angel, Made by Barnino, the famous Engraver, and that so much to the life that the more one beholds, the more one hath cause to admire

*S. Maria della
Vittoria*

¹ Adam Hertford, English Prelate and Titular of this church, who narrowly escaped being put to death by Urban VI (1378-1389) at Genoa owing to his opposition to that Pope.

² The church of S. Bartolommeo all' Isola, on the Isola Tiberina; on the site of a temple of Aesculapius, was dedicated in 997 to S. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague. It was restored in 1113, when the relics were brought there, but was nearly ruined during the inundations of 1557, in the course of which a chronicler records that the saint's body was discovered without the skin (he had been flayed alive). A great dispute took place as to whether it was really the body of the saint, which was brought to Rome, the inhabitants of Beneventum alleging that they had purposely sent the body of S. Paulinus of Nola in its place. There is an 11th century well-head on the stairs leading to the choir. Marucchi, p. 465; Hare, p. 586; Murray, p. 261; Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1. p. 198.

³ S. Maria della Vittoria was erected in 1605 by Paul V for the barefooted Carmelites and dedicated to St. Paul. It received its present title after the battle of Prague (1620) because of a miraculous picture of the Virgin which interceded to obtain the victory over the Protestants, Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia. The group, representing S. Teresa transfixed by the dart of the Angel of Death, by Bernini, is over the altar in the left transept. Marucchi, p. 520; Murray, p. 226; Hare, p. 363; Tucker and Malletson, pt. 1. p. 298. Reproduction in M. von Boehn, *Bernini* (Knackfuss, Künstler-Monographien), 1912, Abb. 40.

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it. Just by this Church is a very fine Fountaine¹ founded by Xistus Quintus, Representing Moses in the middle striking upon the Rocke with his Rod and water flowing out of it, and Aaron and the Priests on one side of him, and the Children of Israel giving their Cattel water on the other side.

Granaries

Then going a little further, wee saw the granaries for Corne belonging to the Pope,² noe Baker in Rome being suffered to buy Corne but out of the Granaries

*Baths of
Diocletian*

By this Place are some Ancient Buildings left of Dioclesian's Baths,³ which were of such a vast bignesse that there was employed for 14 yeares together about the building them 30,000 Persons. And in the midst of those Baths, which at present are remaining, is A Church, called Sant. Maria del Angelo.⁴ After wee had walkd about this Church, wee went at the lower end of this Place, and went into A Pallace⁵ that was formerly belonging to Cardinal Montalto of the Family of Xistus Quintus.

*S. Maria degli
Angeli*

¹ The Fountain of the Terme, or dell' Acqua Felice, designed by Fontana The Acqua Felice was brought from Colonna, 22 miles distant in the Alban Hills, in 1583, by Sixtus V. Hare, p 363; Murray, p. 226

² On the granaries of the church, see Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp 46 ff. Gregory XIII, in 1566, and Paul V, in 1609, re-opened the horrea ecclesiae in the ruined halls of the baths of Diocletian The buildings still exist round the Piazza di Termini, but are now devoted to other purposes.

³ The Thermae of Diocletian were dedicated in A D 305-306. The inscription over the entrance stated that various buildings had been bought up to provide a site for such an enormous edifice Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p 126 and plate 71, showing the Baths with the granaries in 1676, from Falda's plan The Halls were undermined in the hunt for marble in the Cinquecento and began to collapse. The writer of *A True Description*, in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. XII p 114, states "It is somewhat dangerous to venture into the said halls, being underground, for some have perished therein."

⁴ The church of S. Maria degli Angeli occupied the site of the Tepidarium of the Baths of Diocletian, and was adapted by Michael-angelo for Christian worship. It was dedicated in 1561 Marucchi, p. 515, Murray, p 224, Hare, p 356, Tukes and Malletson, pt. 1 p. 267.

⁵ This villa, commenced by Sixtus V, while still a Cardinal, and completed during his pontificate, passed from the Montalto-Peretti

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Villa Montalto

As wee went up into the Pallace, wee beheld the statues of many Ancient Romans. And entring into a Chamber wee there saw the statue of A Gladiator, made of A touchstone. Also a Table of Agate and inlaid with many precious stones. There is also the Portrait of A Gladiator in marble, made in such a lively manner that it is esteemed a most incomparable piece. By it is the statue of Augustus Cesar, and close by this is the statue of Nero when he was a young Man, all found [made ?] in there life tyme, and found under ground among other ancient Statues. There is the Picture of Sophonisbe done by her selfe, several Ladyes a Bathing, a Susanna, and a Sebastiana, an excellent piece of fruttolage, and the heads of Agripina and Bacchus.

In the second Chamber, Mary Magdalene, a Large piece over the doore, and enough to make famous the rare Ballione¹ that made it. In the Library, the head of Trajan with those of the most famous men in less gravings. Above the Bookes on the Roofe this Motto: *Moltum legendum sed non multa*, that is read much, but not many things. Here is also the Picture of the Cardinal Monalto, that was the Patron of this Pallace.

In another Chamber, a rare Picture in Mosaick worke, and a Perspective of Marbles inlaid with landskep in colors, accounted one of the Best in Italy, and several Cupids in Marble.

to the Savelli family, and in 1696 to Cardinal Negroni. The villa was among the most beautiful in Rome until the time of Pius VI (1775–1800), when it was purchased by Prince Massimo (1789) who, however, allowed the beautiful gardens to run to waste. E. Platner and others, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1829, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 349. The villa was destroyed and the grounds covered by the railway station in 1870. The place was taken compulsorily, in the face of violent opposition by the aged Prince Massimo, who died shortly afterwards, it is said, of a broken heart. Hare, p. 352. There is a short description of the villa and its contents in Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 167, but Mortoff's account is the most detailed I have been able to find.

¹ Cavaliere Giovanni Baglione (Baglioni), 1571–1644, artist and writer. See Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, II p. 355.

In another Chamber three most lively faces in one piece by Scipio Carolo.¹ A Peasant carved in toch stone.

Before the Pallace is a long walke going straight downe to another in the same Courte. Before the doore of this Pallace are 12 very great stone Potts, which the Romans used in former tymes to keepe oyle in. On either end of the Entry is A Senator In his Chaire and habit, as he used to sit in the Senate house, two statues of the Ancient Romans. Within the Pallace are several Ancient heads. Two great Pillars of very curious marble, the statue of Democritus.

A great Piece of David killing Golliah painted on both sides.² The faces of Xistus Quintus and his Nephew Cardinal Montalto, which being lookd at sideways and through a little hole, seeme very naturall, but looking on them otherwise seeme most horrid and monstrous, wherein the man that drew them hath expressed abundance of Art.³

In the second Rome are a paire of Ciprus Organs ; and about the Rome many ancient heads, As Scipio Affricanus, Marcus Aurelius, Marius, Antoninus Pius, and Adonis.

On the Table, An Urne of Allablaster curiously engraven.

In the third Chamber, A Table of Oriental Marble, upon which was a great Urne of the same marble ; A naked boy with a Ducke in his Armes of white Marble, two pictures of the Metamorphosis in brasse ovals, and one in the middle in collors.

¹ I cannot identify the artist

² Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 168. "The picture of David killing Goliath : it turnes upon a frame, and shews you both the fore-side of those combatants, and their backsides two, which other pictures do not."

³ "There is a picture in stones of several colours, which held one way represents nothing but a bunch of hearbs, but held up another way it represents a mans head and face." Lassels, *loc. cit.*

In the 4th, upon A Rich Marble Tarble [*sic*] is the Figure of A Peasant catching Birds, and made in Brasse.

Then going up staires, In the first Chamber wee saw a piece of Jossupino,¹ wherein is painted Joseph of Arimathea Takin Jesus from the Crosse. On the other side of the Picture, St Andrew with the Crosse at his Backe, both which Pictures want not for esteeme, Being so live drawne.

In another Chamber, the head of Xistus Quintus in Brasse. A Picture of Susanna. A good florentyn Table, and Europa standing on it, made in Brasse.

In another, Ariadne and Bacchus done by Guidaren,² and a piece of Landskip done in Mosaicke. An Ebony Cabbinet, with Hercules and the Centaure in brasse upon it.

In another a wild Boare in Brasse, A Venus and a satyr, the Picture of St John Baptist. And one of Our Saviour Crownd with thornes. A St Michael fighting with the Dragon done by Guideron.³

In another A very high and Rich Cabinett of inlaid worke, with many Aggat pillars to the number of 15. A great old Urne. Two Representations in Brasse of that rare statue in the Capitol of A lyon devouring a horse. The late Cardinal's Dwarf's picture upon a Board.

A Venus and Cupid in Picture, soe lively that it outvyes all the works of Appelles, if this may not be one of them, and a piece, for the excellency of the worke, may be esteemed in Estimable.

Then going downe from this Pallace, and so by the little flowred garden,³ wee passed a statue of Esculapius;

¹ Gius Arpino, otherwise Giuseppe Cesari, known as Cav. d'Arpino, 1568–1640. Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, VI. p. 309

² Guido Reni, 1575–1642.

³ Of the gardens, Evelyn writes. "A spacious park full of fountains, especially that which salutes us at the front, stews for fish; the cypress walks are so beset with statues, inscriptions, rilievos, and other ancient marbles, that nothing can be more stately and solemn. The citron

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then as by several others of the ancient gods, so by another of him sitting with a serpent in his lapp, then wee went downe to the gate opening towards St Mary Majora, and there was saluted with spouts above and below the gate.

Wee then passed to the fish pond where is a Neptune standing in his shell upon a Titan, and his Trident in his hand, made out of one Marble stone by the famous Barnino, who is now Alive in Rome, and who for his Rare and incomparable Art in graving was made a Knight by the Pope.¹

On each side of this Statue are two heads which out of their garlands spout forth water in very pleasing figures. Here are likewise many devices to wash men onawares, and conveyance of water to water the plants, so that in this large Paradise, of two miles about, is a perpetual spring. When wee were advanced so farre in this walke as to arrive neere the gate where wee entered, we saw on the right hand [] who did not fright us, though he had soe lively a Visage and Posture, that he made us start a little when he threw water at us out of his mouth.

Then on the left wee looked on a Satyr who was taking water from another's mouth in a horne, this wide mouth wee were bold to stopp, but then the streames made channels through his Eyes, and left not those Currents

trees are uncommonly large" *Diary* (Globe ed), p 70 Aerssen de Sommelsdyck (1654) writes. " Dans l'autre bout de la ville à la place des termes de Dioclétien, vous y avez la vigne du Cardinal Montalto qu'on fait disputer en beauté avec celle de Bourguese, mais à mon avis pour le jardin celuy de Montalto le doit emporter pour la qualité d'eaux et les belles allées qui y sont à perte de veue, et, ce qu'on estime le plus en esté, l'agréable beauté de l'ombre et celle de la fraischeur. Icy on voit divers jets d'eau artificiels qui mouillent assez ceux qui desirent du rafraichissement Aussi dans Rome il n'y a point de jardin ou le frais sort si grand et si universel partout " This traveller adds later. " Outre celle-cy a l'entrée est la grande maison où, peu avant mon arrivée à Rome, la foudre avoit donné et frascassé diverses pièces." *Voyage*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1906, vol. III. p 181.

¹ e.g. by Pope Gregory XV.

till wee gave them leave to conjoyne their forces, and power forth those at his mouth By this is a kind of A dyall or Quadran, on which the Man desired to looke what a clocke it was. Wee went, and as wee were viewing the figures upon it, he made water come out of it and wett us in a kind of An Invisible manner Close by this also is a Box of Bowles, which the Man desiring us to take out of the Box to play at Bowles, wee found that instead of drawing the Bowles out of the Box wee drew water in our faces, which made us have little desire to play at that tyme.

Thus having with much sport and some wetting pleased ourselves with the sight of those Recreations, there being M^r. Hare, M^r Stanley, Mons^r Pillat, and my selfe, at the Gardiner's desire, going to turne a Cocke neare the doore, instead of wetting others wee threw water on ourselves, so with much laughing at those mistakes wee tooke one sprinkling more and departed.

January the 23rd, Cardinal Melcius¹ being dead, 23 was buried in the Church in the Corso, where in the morning we saw him lye in a Rome within the Church, with his face uncovered, and seemed a handsome old Man of some 70 yeares of age. In the After noone wee went againe, where in the middle of the Church was his Body upon a high Beere, being drest in all his Cardinal's Robes, having his Red Capp on his head and his Cardinal's Capp at his feete, with a new paire of shoes, and about 120 torches standing all about his Body. The Church was all hung in blacke, and his Armes In Paper Scuchions all about the Church.

There came here about 25 or 30 Cardinals, every one of them, one after another, saying a dirgy for the health of his soule ; And al the while he lay in this sort there was

¹ Camillo Melzi, of a noble Milanese family: created a Cardinal in 1657, a man of great piety and kindness. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica*, XLIII. p 176.

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some 6 men, 3 on one side and 3 of the other side of him, with great flaggs in there hands, waving it continually about his dead Body. After the Ceremony was ended Every Person was put out of the Church by the Priests and officers, and his Body taken from thence and wrapt in Lead and so buried in the Church, and his Cardinal's Capp, as the manner is, hung just over the same place where he was buried

Ghetto

- 25 *January the 25th*, wee went into the streete of the Jewes,¹ where no person is suffered to dwell but Jewes onely, who to be distinguished from other persons weare all Red Capps,² It being death for any Jew that weares not a Red Hatt Here wee went up into a Rome and saw the Circumcision³ of one of their Children, where first came one of their Rabbins, who tooke a Long white Cloath and put about his shoulders; then the two god fathers did the same, there being also some Jewes in the

¹ On the Ghetto, see Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*, Paris 1891. The Jews were first shut up within walls by Pius IV (1555-1559) and commanded to wear coloured hats and the women coloured veils They were treated better under Sixtus V, but his mild laws were repealed by Clement VIII (1592-1605) Under Gregory XIII (1572-1585) the Jews were compelled to hear sermons every week, and driven to church with scourges The custom was revived in 1823, and only abolished under Pius IX. Hare, p. 189 Evelyn was present at one of these sermons and has left an amusing account of the coughing, spitting and humming that went on until it was almost impossible to hear a word from the preacher. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 83 Compare Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy* (Eng trans.), 1714, vol. 2, pt 1. p 137, Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p 18.

² The colour was changed to yellow when Evelyn was in Rome See *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 109: "The Jews in Rome wore red hats, till the Cardinal of Lyons, being shortsighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a Cardinal as he passed by in the coach: on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour" There is an interesting note on the distinctive dress worn by Jews in *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, ed by F. G. Stokes, 1909, p 11, note 57.

³ Evelyn witnessed a circumcision. *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 84; also Ed. Browne in 1665, *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed by Wilkin, vol. I p. 86; and Montaigne in 1581. *Travels* (Eng trans.), vol II. p. 102.

Chamber, they all began to [sing ?].¹ Afterwards the Child was brought and layd upon a Cushion betwixt the two god fathers. Then the Rabbm opens the Child and puls out of his Instruments, and cutts of the foreskin, and afterwards suckes the blood with his mouth; and presently layes such things to it as were provided for the purpose; all the while he was in doing this all the Jewes continued in their singing and rejoycing, which seemed a kind of howling.

January the 27th, wee went to see that so famous ²⁷ and rare Tomb of Bacchus,² which stands in the Temple that was formerly dedicated to him, some two mile out of the Citty. The very forme of which Temple is yett standing, having 24 pillars of Marble of the ancient Building about it. But since it is converted into a Church, where under the Altar lyes interred the Body of one of the emperor Constantin's Daughters, and in the Corner of this Church is that Rare Tomb of Bacchus, made all of porphir, and though made many hunderd yeares agoe, it looks as fresh as if it were newly carved. It is made all of one stone, and of a very vast Bignesse, but so rarely well carved on the out side, with vines and grapes and Bacchus'es on the sides, that it is esteemed to be one of the rarest pieces of Antiquity in all Rome.

*S. Urbano alla
Caffarella*

February the 2nd, which was Candlemas Day,³ was ² Feb. a Cappelle, as they call it, held in the Pope's Chappell, where came the Pope and some 35 Cardinals to observe

¹ The words omitted are probably "chant and sing" or "sing and rejoice" or some such expression Compare Montaigne, *Travels* (Eng. trans.), II. p. 102.

² The Temple of Ceres and Proserpine, beyond the catacombs of Calxtus, was formerly known as the tomb of Bacchus from an altar dedicated to Bacchus, which was found there. It is now the church of S Urbano alla Caffarella. The cella of the early temple is preserved almost entire. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 292, 294, with illustration; Hare, p. 289; Murray, p. 417; Marucchi, p. 499.

³ The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, kept on the 40th day after Christmas. Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 707.

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those Ceremonies which are appointed on this day. The Cardinals were this day habited like Bishops, but there Habits exceeding Rich, and every Cardinall having his Mitre on his head. When part of the Masse was said, the Venetian Embassador, who sate by the Pope, kissed his hand, and received a great Wax Candle from his hand. Afterwards all the Cardinals kissd his Robe and received Candles from him. Then Came the Priests that said Masse, every one of them kissd his foote, then the Pope receiving a Candle out of a Priest's hand that was by him, gave each of them with his owne hand a Candle. Afterwards came, I thinke, about 30 of these men, which are cloathed in Red Velvet, and serve to carry him in his Chaire, and such like offices, and every one of them, one after another, received a Candle from him.

Then came those Gentlemen which could gett in to the Chappell, which is something difficult, kissed his foote and received Candles from him. And I by chance getting into this Chappell, but with very much trouble, kissd his Foote and Received a Candle from his owne hands. Soe did M^r. Hare, M^r. Stanley, and M^r. Hare's man, and thereupon wee all went away very well contented.

S. Apollinare

In the Afternoone wee went to the Pollinar,¹ where wee heard a Consort of most sweete Musicke, which was so rare and sweet, that it would have Inchaned any man's Eares that heard it. Afterwards, it beginning to be night, wee went to the Chiesa Nova,² where there is most incomparable Musicke every Sunday and holy day at Night, with the Organs and 4 Voyces, and wee heard here such sweete Musicke, that a man could not

Chiesa Nuova

¹ The church of S. Apollinare (Piazza Navona), supposed to stand on the site of a temple of Apollo, and converted into a church by S Sylvester. Marucchi, p. 505, Murray, p. 198, Hare, p. 443, Toker and Malleon, pt 1 p. 183

² The church of S. Maria in Vallicella, or the Chiesa Nuova, built in 1575. Murray, p. 238, Hare, p. 448.

thinke his paines 11 spent, if he should come two thousand mile, if he were sure to be recompensed with nothing else, but to heare such most melodious voyces.

February the 7th, M^r Hare and I went to the Piazza 7 de Spagne, where the Spanish Ambassador hath his Pallace, and going up the Hill called Monte Trinita,¹ where the French Minor Friars have a Convent, wee entered into the Pallace of Cardinall Medicis, Brother to the Duke of Florence,² where going up a paire of staires into a place before the garden wee saw there two Lyons made in Marble, of a huge greatnesse, but most lively carved. There is also the statues of 6 or 8 Women made in the tyme of the Romans. Then wee went into a great Hall which is all full of very fine pictures, and under them many ancient statues, as 3 of Bacchus, 2 or 3 of Hercules, 1 of Appollo,³ and some 18 pillars of very Rich Marble of all sorts of collers, and on the top of every little pillar stands some little statue or ancient head.

Villa Medici

Entring into another Rome wee saw the statue of a slave having his hands bound over his head, being naked, and by the liveliness of grief and sorrow that he seemes to represent, it is esteemed for a very singular piece. There is also a Rich Florentyne Table with some other Heads of Marble.

In another Rome is the representation of two Boys a fighting in Marble,⁴ and made so excellently well and lively, that it shewes that that man was incomparable

¹ La Trinità de' Monti, built in 1494 by Charles VIII of France. Now a girls' school.

² The Villa Medici, built in 1540 with materials taken in a large measure from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Shortly afterwards it passed into the hands of the Medici family, and was greatly enlarged by Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, afterwards Leo XI. It was acquired by the French in 1665, and the collection was transferred to Florence. The villa now contains a fine collection of casts, and the gardens are nearly a mile in circuit. Hare, p. 35, Murray, p. 13; E. Platner and others, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 601.

³ Doubtless the Apollino, now in the Uffizi.

⁴ Possibly the Wrestlers, also in the Uffizi.

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in this Art that was the maker of that piece. Close by this, a statue of Cupid very lively and finely made.

In another Chamber is a Cabinet and a naked Venus, the Engraver not having left her soe much as wherewithall to Cover nature; yet it represents so much grace and beauty together, that if Venus her selfe were a live she could not shew more gracefull and handsome.

In another Chamber wee Observed a very fine Table, having a very great Agat, Cutt Oval way, in the middle of it, and of soe many severall colors that it may equal any of those Rich Tables in the grand Duke's gallery.¹ In this Rome is the statue of Hercules and some 6 Ancient Roman heads.

In another Rome is a very admirable statue of A naked Man,² sitting on his Brick and cutting of a whetstone, but indeed made so extreame well, representing A Man in that posture, that it may outvie almost all the statues that wee have yet seen.

In another Chamber a naked Venus,³ being really extreame well made, that it might well be an excuse for those persons that were in Love with the true Venus, if she had soe much beauty and grace as this Statue doth represent.

Going then from these Romes, wee entered down into the garden, where wee saw multitudes of ancient statues. Before the doore, as one goes downe some steps, is the statue of Hercules in Brasse holding a Child in his Armes,⁴ with these two verses written on his Clubb.

Bella manu pa[c]emque gero : mox pretius⁵ evi
Te duce venturi, fatorum Arcana recludam.

¹ e.g. at Florence See above, p. 54.

² The Grinder, now in the Uffizi. This figure has been shown to have been one of a group representing the flaying of Marsyas, the kneeling man being the Scythian slave, who is sharpening his knife to do the dreadful deed Frazer's *Pausanias*, III p 60

³ This must be the Medici Venus, now in the Uffizi.

⁴ Clearly a Hercules and Telephus. I cannot trace it in Reinach, *Répertoire*

⁵ For *pretius*, (?) read *gentibus*.

By this statue of Hercules stood the statue of Mars in Brasse. On the wall over those statues are the statues of 4 ancient Captive Kings, 3 of them made in Porphir.

On the ground, the statue of Agrippina, Neroe's mother. Not far from it, the head of Nero, being part of the Colosse which he caused to be made in his life tyme. In this place are also two very great Vessels of Marble all of one stone, being much bigger then those Copper Vessels they brew withall in England.

Just by this place is an old Long gallery where are the statues of 26 Ancient Roman Gods and Goddesses, and among the rest, one of Julius Cesar and another of Augustus, extreemly resembling those two in the Capitoll

The garden is exceeding large, some two mile about, and the walkes very long, there being a very convenient place to play at Mall.¹ Walking downe to the lower end of it, wee saw there the statue of Niobe and her 14 children,² which the Poets fain wept her selfe into a stone for the losse of her Children, which were kild by Latona. These 15 Statues are made so rarely well, the mother representing grief so much to the life, and the children representing the passions of dying Persons, that it will bring grief and sorrow into any person's hart that lookes upon them.

February the 9th, wee went to that place where 9 S. Maria Egiziaca the ruins of Ovid's house stands and entered into a Church,³ and a [sic] saw A Tomb which, they say, was made Just after the same forme that our Savior's was at Jerusalem, being made here only as a Patterne of that.

¹ Bargrave records that he often played pall-mall under the walls of Rome, doubtless in these gardens. *College of Cardinals*, Camden Society, 1867, p. 75.

² The Niobe is now in the Uffizi at Florence.

³ The temple of Fortuna Virilis, now the church of S. Maria Egiziaca. It was converted into a church and dedicated to the Virgin in 872 and renamed in 1570. It contains a model of the Holy Sepulchre. Murray, p. 250; Tuke and Malletson, pt. 1. p. 299. The model is of

Afterwards we went upon the Aventyne Hill, which is one of the seaven, upon which is the ancient Temple of Diana, which is now converted into a Church and called St Sabina,¹ where the Pope on the first day of Lent gives his Cardinals ashes, which is therefore called Ashwensday, and which betokens that all that Lent the [*sic*] must fast and mourne.

In this Church wee saw a blacke round stone, which is called the Devil's stone, in regard, they say, he threw this stone at St Dominick when he prayed in this Church ²

S. Alessio

By this Church is another, called St Alexius, and that for this reason. One Alexius, a young Man, and sonne to a Rich Roman about 300 yeares agoe, being married by his Father to a young Virgin, went away the night he should have layne with her, and traveld into other Countreyes as a Pilgrim. After 12 yeares tyme he returned to his Father's house, where, being unknowne, he beggd an Almes; his Father, being a Charitable man, gave him something, and seing him destitute, appointed him to lodge under a paire of stayres in his house, where he lived 18 years without being discovered. At last, come to dye, he made knowne who he was, for which cause this Church was built and called after his name, where remaines to be seene the very staires in the forme and fashion as they were when he lived under them.³

no historical importance—a mere commercial advertisement by some speculative Armenian monk G Jeffery, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre*, Cambridge, 1919, p 216 Mortoft mentions above the ruins of Ovid's house, p 98 He may be referring to this temple

¹ The church of S. Sabina is supposed to occupy the site of the temple of Juno Regina. It was built in 425 and consecrated in 432. Sixtus V gave it its present form in 1587. Marucchi, p 184; Hare, p. 250, Murray, p 256

² The stone—an ancient weight of Lucullan marble—which luckily missed the Saint, is preserved on a low pillar in the nave. Ashby, *Rome* in 1581, p. 88, Tucker and Malleson, pt. 1 p 336.

³ The church of S Alessio is supposed to mark the site of an ancient temple. There were originally two churches. The subterranean church

There is a kind of Vaut under this Church, now paved with Marble, where, they say, many of the Martyrs in the primitive tymes used to live.

In the further end of this Aventine Hill is a Church called Mariaria,¹ where formerly stood a Temple of the Romans, into which it was onely lawfull for women to enter, and in which Temple Claudius was deboched and Julius Cesar cuckold, and for which cause it was after ward forbidden to women also.

*S. Maria
Aventinense*

Under this Church are seene [part?] of the Pons subtilianus, where Horatius Cochius resisted the Florentine Army till the Bridge was broken downe behind him.²

Standing upon this Hill,³ just under it, are to be seen the ruins of Julius Cesar's Pallace, which by the vastnesse of those Ruins seemed in some sort to answer the vastnesse of those men's minds, which would exceede all persons, both past and to come, in grandeur and greatnesse.

was traditionally dedicated to S Boniface in 318, and the two were united in the 9th or 10th century. The church was reconstructed in 1217 and restored and transformed in 1570. Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, p 88, Marucchi, p 196; Hare, p 254, Murray, p 256. The "paire of stayres" is still shown in the left aisle

¹ This must be the church of S. Maria Aventinense, or del Priorato, from a Priory of the knights of Malta to which it was attached. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p 84: "I came to the foot of Mount Aventin and left on my left hand a chappel belonging to the knights of Malta. Our antiquaries tell us that neare to this place stood the Temple of Bona Dea into which no man was to enter." Clodius profaned the mysteries, which were being celebrated by Caesar's wife and other matrons, at which no man might be present, by entering the house disguised as a woman (62 B C.) See North's *Plutarch* (Temple Classics), VII p 130.

² The massive fragments of masonry, which in Mortoft's day could be seen near the Marmorata, believed to be the remains of the Pons Sublcius, were blown up in 1877. It was this bridge that Horatius Cocles and his two companions kept against the Etruscan army of Lars Porsena. Hare, p 180.

³ Mortoft is now standing on the Aventine looking towards the Palatine. As we have noticed, the ruins on the Palatine were at one time generally known as the Palace of the Caesars. Norwood Young, *Rome* (Med. Town Series), p. 12, with sketch, and above, p. 100.

In the Afternoone wee went to the Pallace of the Prince Lodovisius,¹ that was Nephew to Pope Gregory the 15th, which stands a pretty distant from the Monte Caval, and is esteemed for the Rarities that are in it the chiefest house in Rome that are worthy of a Stranger's Curiosity.

Entring into the garden, which is some two miles about, wee beheld, as wee went a long to one of the Pallaces, many Ancient statues of the Romans on the sides of the walkes. Then wee entered into a Rome where wee saw a naked Venus² at one end of it, and another statue of Cleopatra³ on the other End, and well may Paris be commended for judging the golden Apple to Venus from Juno and Pallas, if the true Venus appeared to him so handsome when he saw her naked as this statue appeared to me.

In another Rome was a Crucifix, about which was a lace curiously wrought in straw ; over the doore, a picture of Our Lord made extreame lively by Caraccio. A St. John and Lucretia made by Raphael.

In another Rome a little case full of Indian gods. Very pretty Cupids of several shapes in Ivory.

Then going up a paire of staires, like those at Greenwich, In the first Rome wee came into wee saw that most Rich and stately Bed,⁴ that was given to Pope Gregory the

¹ The Villa Ludovisi was the property of Cardinal Ludovisi, from whom it descended to the Prince of Piombino. It dates from the 17th century. The park, which was of extraordinary extent, was exceedingly beautiful. The Villa was sold in 1886 and was pulled down to make room for the existing Palazzo Piombino, and the grounds were cut up for building purposes. Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 418; Hare, p. 335. The collection is now in the Museo delle Terme. See Th. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, Leipzig, 1880; and Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., II pp. 75 ff.

² Probably the replica of the Cnidian Venus in the Vatican, found near the remains of her temple in the 16th century. Schreiber, No. 97; Helbig, No. 1300.

³ By Cristoforo Statì (1556-1618), Schreiber, No. 13A.

⁴ Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 177, and Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 68, both describe this famous bed, but I cannot trace what has become of it. By 1688 it was "much out of Order." Misson, *A New*

15th by a Monsignor in hopes to be made A Cardinall, but the Pope dying soone after, he lost both bed and hopes

The backe of the Bed is all of silver inched with many great Pearles, Rubies, Topazes, Emralds, etc. On the beadstead is cutt the Chariott of the sunn, the Body of which is of gold, the wheeles of Diamonds and the horses of Agatt. A Hill of Ametist and a kind of a Citty in the same Oval, of Cronolia. The Skye of Lapis Lazarus, the god Phebus of Rubye. Above this is a frutelaye most rarely workd, so that the worke is more Rich then the materials, though it be of great Pearl, Topazes, etc. The 4 Posts of the Bed are all of Ametist, the sides below, as well as on the topp and all about, are set with most Rich stones, so that this Bed alone is esteemed to be worth 100,000 Crownes.

In another Chamber are two very fine Cabinets, on one of which is Pope Gregorie's Picture cutt in Agatt, his Capp and Robe of two great Rubyes, sweetly wrought, and esteemed for the rareness of the rubye a piece inestimable.

In a Closet by this Chamber is a skin of a Hidra with some of the heads on a piece of Corall, Pope Innocent's Picture in water collers, A resemblance in brasse to the Toro of Farnese's Pallace, besides many other pretty things worth the taking notice off.

In another Rome there is nothing but very fine Venus [Venice] glasses, and all of severall fashions, and many Pots and Cupps painted by Raphael, that famous Painter, and for that cause esteemed as much as gold and silver.

In the other Pallace, in the same garden, the first place wee entered in wee saw the statue of a naked Venus,

Voyage to Italy (Eng. trans.), 1714, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 71. Keysler, *Travels*, 1760, vol. II. p. 423, says of the Villa in 1729: "There is no getting a sight of the apartments, for which some frivolous excuses are made by servants"

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and soe admirably well made, that it would shame Venus herselfe if she were now a Live. A little further, the statue of Marcus Aurelius, and by it a statue of Appollo, and another of Pluto, about 14 heads of ancient Romans standing upon Pillars of marble.

In another Rome, St Paul, Judith, and Lucretia in painting, all 3 most sweetly drawne.

In another Rome A Gladiator naked, made with his feete a crosse upon one another.¹ Two statues of Amity, by them Neroe's head in Porphire, A Florentyne Table full of precious stones, A great statue representing a Man killing his wife,² which statue was scorched by the fire that Nero caused to be made for the burning of Rome, the markes of which scorching are yet remaining on it. At the upper end the statue of Proserpina³ that was ravished by Pluto, and made by the famous Barnino who is now living in Rome, and this statue is so excellently wel made that it wants nothing but Antiquity to make it one of the famousest statues in the world.

In another Rome, A naked Venus, as handsome as ever was Venus her selfe. In the middle of the Rome a Boy made in Marble lying on the backe of a dolphin, and wants nothing but life to make it perfect.⁴

In another Rome is the head of Scipio Africanus, made of a stone that lookes just like Brasse, and for which the Duke of Florence offered 10,000 Crownes. Heere is also the 4 seasons of the yeare made by Michael Angelo, Twelve Urnes of Oriental Marble, A Madonna

¹ The resting warrior, described by Schreiber under No. 118. Compare Hare, p. 363.

² The colossal group of the Gaul and his wife, belonging to the group, which also included the Dying Gaul, in the Capitoline Museum. Schreiber, No 92, Helbig, No. 1302, and below, p 127, note ¹

³ By Bernini Schreiber, No. 106A

⁴ Schreiber, p 15, mentions from an inventory of 1633, "un Puttino morto sopra un Delfino ferito de grandezza del naturale" It is now longer in the collection.

that was painted by Perogino, the Master of Raphael. The excellency of the man is able to sett forth the rarenesse of this piece, which is such that it may compare with any piece of painting in the world, and yet not be excelled.

At the lower end of the Rome is the statue of A Gladiator wounded to death,¹ esteemed one of the rarest pieces that was ever made by the hand of man, for which Cardinal Barbarin offered 12,000 Crownes to send as a present to the King of France

In another Rome, Urania and Apollo, and Julius Cesar sacrificing, made Naked with his hand upon the shoulder of a Naked Man. Over this is A Bocca della Verita, of porphir, out of which the Devil in former tymes gave his Oracles to the Romans.

In another Rome, Marcus Aurelius, his head in Brasse, Also a Very fine Florentyne Table upon a very pretty frame, A Picture of Solomon, the great Turke, most admirably well drawne, and many other Pictures.

Then going up staires, wee saw, in the first Rome, Many Pictures and marble statues against the Wals, and among the rest the two Pictures of the two Cardinals, Bellarmin and Baronius.

In another Chamber wee saw Some parts of a man that were turnd into stone,² where one might see the flesh that was on the Bones as hard as any stone. It was sent out of Germany as a Present to Pope Gregory the 15th, and is here kept in a Truncke lined with red Velvet.

In another Rome, An Hermophrodite³ in Marble, and A Crucifix In Allablaster, but really the prettiest thing,

¹ The Dying Gaul, formerly in the Ludovisi collection, but removed to the Capitoline Museum under Clement XII (1730-1740) Helbig, No. 884. On this statue and the group of the Gaul and his wife, mentioned above, see Frazer's *Pausanias*, II. pp. 323 ff.

² Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 68; Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 180. I cannot trace what has become of it, but it was obviously a great attraction.

³ Now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. Schreiber, p. 16.

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and so extreame well made that a man can never satisfye him selfe enough in beholding the skill and Art of the Man that was the Auther of this piece.

After wee had taken much pleasure in beholding these and many other Rarities, wee went about the Garden, where, at the lower End, wee saw a very ridiculous statue of A satyr, which canot but stir up any man to much laughter in looking on such a Rediculous piece, but yet very excellently well made. A little below, is the Head of Commodus, the Emperour, and not far from it is a discription of a Battell of the Rom[ans], made all of one stone,¹ where is to be seene at least 40 several pieces of men and horses, some fighting, some dying, and some killing others, and every one representing these Actions that they were in, soe much to the life that by all Report it is esteemed to be one of the most Incomparablest pieces that was ever made by any human hands.

There is also here A Gallery, as they call it, which is like a Laborinth running out of one round into another and cut soe prettily that one shall hardly see any other garden in such a fashion, and at least 100 Roman statues about these Cutts, and, among the Rest, one of Bacchus, made in the forme of an old man representing A Drunkard with his Cheekes puffed up, his eyes heavy, and looking upon his Cupps and Bagg of wyne with him, so that the sight of this horrible piece, that the very looking uppon it would make a man a detester of this sottish vice.

Vatican

11 February the 11th, wee went into the Vatican Pallace, and so to the Armory,² which is built under the Library

¹ Probably the Sarcophagus with reliefs, found in the Vigna Bernusconi in 1621. Helbig, No. 1320.

² Probably situated in the underground room, now used as a magazine for the Swiss Guard. See G. Mancini, *Viaggio di Roma per vedere le pitture*, ed by L. Schudt, Rom Forschungen (Bibl. Hertziana iv), Leipzig, 1923, p. 50, note 3. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 86. "I hardly believe any Prince in Europe is able to show a more completely furnished library of Mars for the quality and quantity,

by Pope Urban the 8th, whose Bees should have stings, since he loved to amasse soe many deadly Weapons as here are together for the arming of 60,000 Men, and for the Killing of A World, but that Saint Peter might be helped by the sword as well as by the Pen, this Rome seemed as necessary above it, so that the one should help the other.

Here is the Suite of Armes which Burbon wore when he received his mortall wound, which was by the groine.¹ This stands at the head of All the other Armes.

From hence wee went Into the Garden of Belvedere,² wherein Are many Orange trees and a gallery of Lemon trees. At the farre end, under the great Arch, is the Brazen Pine Apple which was placed on the topp of Adrian's Sepulcher, now the Castle of St Angelo. Neere it are two Brazen Peacockes, which were on Scipio Affricanus his Tomb.³

which is 40,000 complete for horse and foot, and neatly kept " Mortoft returns later to the Vatican (Below, p. 155, note ²) The Armoury is not now shown

¹ Bourbon was killed during the attack on Rome on May 6th, 1527. He was foremost in the assault, but as he placed his foot on a scaling ladder he was struck in the groin by a ball from a musket. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vi. p. 339

² Pope Nicholas V had built the first Belvedere in the middle of the 15th century in the form of a mediaeval fortress. This gave place in 1490 to a garden house in the Renaissance style, which opened on to a square courtyard in which statues were placed. Julius II conceived the idea of extending the Belvedere and uniting it to the Vatican and employed Bramante to execute the design. Under his direction the celebrated logge were added, and here were laid the foundations of the Vatican Museum. Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 68, thus describes the cortile: "a square Court sett with Orange trees, in whose walls are great Niches with leaves to them of wood, where the choyce statues of the world are conserved under lock and key, and free from ill weather." The collection had been much enlarged by the 18th century, when Clement XIV commenced the formation of the new museum. See P. G. Hubner, *Le Statue di Roma*, vol. I (Römische Forschungen, Bibliotheca Hertziana II), Leipzig, 1912, p. 78, A. Michaelis, *Geschichte des Statuenhofes im vatikanischen Belvedere*, Jahrbuch des Archäolog. Instituts, v (1890), pp. 5-72, with illustrations, 1574, 1589 and 1680; W. Friedländer, *Das Kasino Pius IV*, Kunstgesch. Forschungen (K. Pr. Institut in Rom) III, Leipzig, 1912; Ashby, *Rome in 1581*, pp. 45 ff., with illustrations. W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903-1908, 2 vols.

³ The famous Pigna, a gigantic fir-cone, which used to be regarded as having crowned the summit of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was removed to the gardens by Paul V, who also provided wetting-sports,

Within that Arch wee passed into a square Court, about which were these following statues.

Appollo, with the Pithon about the stomp of A tree¹

Commodus, the Emperor, made like Hercules with A little Child in one hand and a Clubb in the other.

Antinous, the favorite of Adrian. Venus coming out of a Bath, and which appeares with soe much grace Beauty and Majesty, that the true Venus her selfe could not cary away the prize for Beauty from this statue.²

Laocon, with his two sons interwoven with the Dragon, which is called the Miracle of statues by Michael Angelo.³ Plyny speakes of it, who saith it was made by Alessandro, Pollodoro, and Athendoro,⁴ the most principall Engravers in those dayes, and was afterwards preserved in the Pallace of Titus, the Emperor, and was since found under ground.

All these statues are noe lesse exquisite then Ancient, preserved by the Popes as things worthy there esteeme, and deserving a Place in this Rich pallace of Belvedere.

In the middle of the Court is a maimed statue which was a Coppy to Michael Angelo.

On the one side of it is a great statue of the Tiber, with the wolfe nursing Romulus and Remus.

without which no garden at that time was complete. Michaelis, *Statuenhof*, pp. 48-49. The two peacocks are believed to have flanked the entrance to Hadrian's Mausoleum. Helbig. Nos. 120, 121; Hare, p. 581. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 67. "the Pineapple of brasse guilt, which is as great as three men can fathom about, and twice as high as the tallest man can reach"

¹ The Apollo Belvedere, found towards the end of the 15th century, but it is not known where. It was purchased for the Belvedere collection, and is in the cortile del Belvedere. Helbig, No 157; Hare, p. 567, Murray, p. 330.

² Probably No. 139 in Helbig. It was placed in the Belvedere gardens by Julius II.

³ The Laocoon was found in January, 1506, on the Esquiline. It is in the cortile. Helbig, No. 151.

⁴ The passage from Pliny is given with translation in H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, 1895, p. 221.

On the other side the representation of Nilus, with many small statues of Boyes, now defaced

In a little passage, Cleopatra stretched out at length, having a most lively dying looke. Beyond it a leaden shipp which formerly sprouted out water, but now suffers shipwracke¹

From this garden wee went into A Long gallery leading us to the Library,² Built by Xistus Quintus, and now furnished with many Cupboards full of Manuscripts, to the Number of 15,000.

By the doore is a statue of Hippollitus, which was a Bishop in the Apposles' dayes, over against him another of Aristides, sirnamed the Just³

The things shewne us were these.

A wrighting on the Barke of a tree.

A Turkish Alcoran.

A China story, and an Æthopian song.

American Hieroglyphicks, A masse Booke, rarely painted.

Some annotations of Thomas Aquinas, written with his owne hand.

A Virgil with figures, some 1,500 yeares old. Eight great volums written by the hand of Cardinal Baronius.

The Acts of the Apostles in a great Character of gold. King Harry the 8ths Booke against Luther, subscribed with his Owne hand.⁴

¹ The bronze ship which decorates the fountain on the Terrace of the Navicella. Michaelis, *Statuenhof*, p 49

² The Vatican Library was begun by Nicholas V (1447-1455), who collected 5,000 manuscripts, and was greatly increased by Sixtus IV (1471-1484), and Sixtus V (1585-1590). In 1623 it was enriched by the gift of the Bibliotheca Palatina of Heidelberg, captured by Tilly, and in 1657 by the Bibliotheca Urbina, founded by Federigo da Montefeltro. The number of Greek and Latin MSS. has been reckoned at 23,580. Hare, p. 574, Murray, p 343.

³ Found during the pontificate of Pius IV (1559-1566). Helbig, No. 413.

⁴ The "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," 1521. The inscription is given in Murray, p. 347.

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Several Letters of the same King Harry to Anna of Bollon, written with his owne hand, which by the reading of them appeares to be very good English and the words placed in a very orderly Method.¹

In the Pallatin's Library (which was sent out of Germany to the Pope by the Emperor when He tooke the Pallatinate) wee saw many pieces of Luther's hand writing and likewise of Philip Melancton's.

Seneca's and Virgil's workes.

A Booke of the Lutheran's opinion.

An Armenian Bible, most diligently pend in a dainty letter.

A story of Joshua, in a Rowle, very ancient.

A Samaritine Bible.

The Jewe's Talmud, in great Parchment Rowles.

Pollidor Virgil's workes written by him selfe.

The life of the Duke D'urben, with many sweet Pictures.

A Masse Booke with a well Carved Ivory Cover.

Bibles of several Languages, and one of twelve together.

St. Chrisostome's workes, set forth by Sir Harry Savil that was Tutor to Queen Elizabeth.²

Then passing by the doore of A Library, which is never open but for great persons, wee went by without seeing Saint Augustin's works written with his owne hand, with other curious things therein Contained.

¹ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 64: "The letters of Henry the VIII of England to Anne Bolen his mustresse then, in his owne handwriting, Some in English, some in French, but all amatory" The love letters have been published in vol. III of *The Harleian Miscellany*, also in *The Pamphleteer*, vol. XXI pp. 346-348, and vol. XXII. pp. 114-123. On these and other manuscripts, see Murray, pp. 346-347.

² Sir Henry Saville, 1549-1622, scholar and mathematician, taught Greek to Queen Elizabeth. He assisted Bodley in the founding of his Library, and founded the Saville scholarship of geometry and astronomy at Oxford.

February the 13th, wee went through the Amphitheater, and soe up through the Garden of the Prince Matheus,¹ which is against the Temple of Fannus.

In the first Chamber wee saw two statues of Ceres, A Faustina, A great Brasse Eagle upon a Tortise, Trajan A horsebacke, in Marble. Just above it stands the statue of Adrian also, and by it a statue of Brutus.

In the 2nd Chamber A Venus with a scarfe falling two low for the hiding of that which nature would have hidden

Against it is a statue which might be censured for its being uncloathed, were it not the figure of Amity,² which will endure no vaile, and therefore with one hand she opens her side to make her hart more visibly. The Lady cannot be blamed by Momus him selfe, since the workeman hath made such a window into her very breast, and wanted none of the Art which Promotheus knew, but onely a little of the fire which he stole to make this hard Virgin speake, who yet is taught to say these words.

Virginius Ursinus Cyriaco Matheo, Amicitiae monumentum staturae Illustrius, me ipsa amicitiae non potuit.

In this Rome is a head of Virgil, A statue of Ceres, 4 great Marble Pillars, and other curiosities.

In the third Rome, 3 Cupids in white Marble sleeping one upon another in a pretty posture, A Siluanus in a drunken guise with a vessel of wyne under one hand. Neroe's head A very fine Florentyne Table. A long, square Table of A greenish Egyptian Marble. Ciceroe's

¹ Palace Mattei, built on the site of the Circus of Flaminius in 1615. The collection of pictures and statuary was dispersed at the end of the 18th century, a large proportion passing to the Museo Pio-Clementino. E. Platner and others, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1842, vol. III, pt. 3, p. 523; Hubner, *Le Statue di Roma*, Leipzig, 1912, vol. I, p. 104; Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, III pp. 88-97, gives an inventory of 1614

² Reproduced in Venuti and Amaduzzi, *Monumenta Matthaiana*, Rome, 1776-1779, I, pl. 19 (text p. 15), where the inscription is correctly given. Kindly identified for me by Dr Thomas Ashby.

head, And the Picture of Joane, the famous whore, that was Queen of Naples, And two platter mouthd Buffons, said to be Egyptian Gods.

In another Rome, betwixt two marble Pillars, a great Urne of speckld marble, A statue of Ceres, Another of Claudia, One of Antinous, the favorite of Adrian.

In the 5th, A halfe statue of great Jove, in Egyptian Marble, A Julia, A Dea Bona, A great statue of Antoninus Pius, naked.

The two heads of Brutus and Portia, hand in hand, expressing the woman to be extreame handsome, and the other to be feared.

Then going downe some steps in the Garden, wee saw at one [] A large statue of Augustus Cesar sitting with a Globe in his hand. Further, A great designe of A water worke whose spouts were come up in little ships. Not far from this, A pretty fountaine which made the water issue very high in little small streames By another fountaine wee had like to have been wett, by reason of many spouts opposite to it and behind us. Walking under an Arbour, wee came to another where was Hercules killing the Hidra, by it was a Cocke which none must turne but those that would wash themselves. Hence, going up a paire of staires, wee were in danger to be wett by reason the water rise against us from under the degrees.

Going from hence, wee came to a long straight [walk ?] that was fild with ancient Tombs. Here wee entered into a walke that goes on the side of the forementioned house. Against it is a greene square platt, wherein is the head of Alexander of A very great Bignesse, cutt in white Marble, and [found ?] in the Ruins of Mont Celius.

From hence wee went to the fish pond, and passing through several greene walkes, arrived at another little house, where wee saw the statue of Appollo fleeing of Martius, that would content with him in Musicke, whose

blood, as the Poet saith, was so white that it turnd into water. Also an Andromeda, chaine to a Rocke, so sweet and Beautiful, that it seemes to be the very picture of Beauty.

Going from this place through a kind of A wilderness, wee came at last to a Tomb of the Romans, about the sides of which are carved the 9 Muses, so passing by an Orange Garden to the doore, wee were saluted by spouts of water for a fare well, without perceiving from whence they Came.

February the 15th, Began the Carnival,¹ which is ¹⁵ alwayes observed in Italy with much ceremony by Persons of all conditions. And here, in Rome, Persons of all conditions meete at the Corso,² which is a streete so called and about a mile long. Wee went this day to this Place, where wee saw many Maskeradoes, whose folly was not hid, like there faces, under different Vizards. The greatest and Richest of them, of which there were many, some in Coaches and some on horsebacke, the rest marched a foote with pyebald Coates and ougly looke. He that played Tom foole on horsebacke rod not soe well as the Jackanapes at the Beare garden,³ but seemed more ridiculous; thus the Coaches, men, horses and Asses, of which there was the greatest Number, marched along the streete to the gate del Popolo, and returned againe to the upper end of the streete, Neere which Prince

Corso

¹ The Carnival of Rome was long famous for the mad revelry which characterised it. Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. pp. 188 ff., describes the extravagances at length. He mentions in particular an "Italian who mocked both the French and Spaniards at once by walking up and downe the street, clad half like a Don and half like a Monsieur." There is also a vivid description of a Carnival in Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage d'Italie* (1654), in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (1903), vol. III, Rome, 1906, p. 182.

² The Corso, now officially styled Corso Umberto Primo, took its name from the horse races, first permitted by Paul II in the 15th century. It stretches from the Porta del Popolo in a straight line for about a mile to the Piazza Venezia, under the Capitoline Hill.

³ The Bear Garden was situated on Bankside, not far from the old Palace of the Bishops of Winchester.

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Pamphilo,¹ that was nephew to the last Pope Innocent the 10th, hath made a handsome standing for the Ladyes, adjoyning to his Pallace, to see the Races which are to be run by Jewes, Barbes, and other unclean Beasts for 6 pieces of stuffe.²

- 16 *February the 16th*, wee went to a Church behind the Campidoglio, called St. Maria in Campinella,³ where was kept the feast of the elevation of the Sacrament, which, on the high Altar, was exposed in the middle of certaine Clouds, and under it the representation of Noah and the Beasts entring into the Arke. Wee heard here some good Musicke.

Roman College

Afterwards wee went to the Roman Colledge,⁴ where with much adoe wee gott in, and after an hower and a halfe's waiting wee saw such a rare Comody, that I never looke to hear the like again.

There was some 24 Comedians, all drest very richly, six or 7 different scenes, the stage very large, and the subject very excellent, and all in Latin, by the Scholers that were the Actors. Being A representation of an English King in the tyme of the Danes and Saxons, who having

¹ Don Camillo Pamphilo, nephew of Pope Innocent X. He married a princess and quitted his Cardinal's cap and nepotism. Bargrave, *College of Cardinals*, p. 95.

² For Jews' races, see p. 137, note ¹. Barbs were horses introduced by the Moors into Spain from Barbary and Morocco, remarkable for their speed. The races were run without riders. Pieces of wood with nails sticking out were strapped on to the horses' backs. The pain produced and the yells of the populace sent the beasts careering down the Corso, the first arrival gaining a prize subscribed for by the Jews.

³ See above, p. 98, note ¹.

⁴ The Roman College was founded by S. Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, a descendant of Alexander VI, who retired to Rome in 1550 and succeeded Loyola as General of the Jesuits. The buildings were erected as we now see them in 1582. Hare, p. 61. Visitors at this time generally inspected the closet of rarities of Father Kircher, who showed his collection in person. Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 67. Ed Browne in 1665 found him "extremely courteous and civil." *Sir Thos Browne's Works*, ed. by Wilkin, 1836, i. p. 87. Kircher was born in 1602 and died in 1680. The museum is still shown.

two sons and they being on hunting, and finding themselves weary of the chase lay downe to rest them selves, where by chance a Bishop meeting them, which was a Christian, and understanding who they were, prayed to god to convert them ; which by the Ardency of his prayer and counsel to them, he so wrought upon them that they were willing to be baptized by him. The King, after many other passages being acted, came to know that his sons were converted to Christianity, upon which he became madd and outrageous, and as they were praying in the house of the Bishop, they were assaulted by the Father and slayne, by the wicked counsell of one of his servants, Upon which the servant and King, growing madd, he came at last to discover the wickednesse of that servant, and so repenting and renouncing his false faith was baptized also by the Bishop. He that acted the part of King acted it so extreemly well that it was impossible to doe better, and indeed there was not one of them but acted there parts so admirable well, there was none but went away well contented. And also at the end of every Act a consort of 4 voyces, 3 Boyes and 1 Man, which sung so sweetly that it put Much grace and splendor upon the Comody ; and so I beleeeve there was none but went away contented, though it kept them till 12 a Clocke at Night.

February the 17th, wee went againe to the Corso to 17 take notice of some more of there follyes ; which are to continue for 8 dayes, and then begins the lent, in which tyme they doe pennance for all those follyes that they are now guilty off. Two Jewes ran this day,¹ naked, onely they had some thing about there middles to hide Nature, that the Whores might not see all. There being Multitudes

¹ Jews were forced to run every day during the Carnival, being first well supplied with wine. This degrading spectacle was continued until 1668, when Clement IX put an end to it. W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*, 1896, II. pp 440-441.

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of them here,¹ In Windowes this day and all the other dayes of the Carnival, which were so well knowne, that hardly A Gentleman a horsebacke, or a foole on foote, passed by any of them, but threw hand fuls of sugar plumbs at them, which they seemd to be much pleased with.

On some dayes of the Carnival came Prince Augustine,² sometymes driving a Coach in a foole's Habitt, and sometymes like a Prince. There used also to come His wife with her Ladyes [in] a most Rich Coach, all guilded with gold, and 2 or 4 Coaches full of Cardinals.

The Queen of Swedland³ honourd this place twice with her presence, having the last day of the Carnivall the two Barbarins, Franciscus and Carlo, with her in her Coach, which was not very usuall. Prince Pamphilio also was here in a disguised habitt, with 8 or 9 footemen after him, cloathed in Blew Taffaty. The Prince of Burghese also was here in a disguised Habit with a Vizard on his face, having a very handsome trayne of footemen after him.

The Prince Pallastrine,⁴ that is Brother to young Barbarine, was there upon a very fine horse, and 4 Men

¹ On the Roman courtesans generally, see H. Bohmer, *Luthers Romfahrt*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 101. One of them in the 16th century lived amidst such magnificence that a Spanish Ambassador, being so overcome with the splendour of the apartments, preferred to spit in a lackey's face rather than soil the wall and floor coverings, a delicate compliment which was much appreciated. *Ibid.*, p. 102. According to Misson, *New Voyage to Italy* (Eng. trans.), 1714, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 44, Rome in the 17th century was one vast brothel, but Misson was extravagant and unreliable in anything relating to Roman affairs. Still, there is other evidence to show that matters had not improved since Luther's time. Compare the unpleasant story in J. G. von Aschhausen, *Reise nach Rom*, 1612–1613, Stuttgart Lit. Verein, 1881, vol. 155, p. 126, and A. v. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, pp. 461 ff.

² There is a reference to this Prince in P. J. Elsius, *Diario Europaeo*, Frankf., 1659, etc., under date 1659, January 16, reprinted in Scheible, *Das Kloster*, vol. 6, pt. 1, p. 39, from which it appears that his wife had a rival whom the Pope had to banish from Rome.

³ See above, p. 76, note ³. Francesco Barberini, as already noted, was Protector of the English at Rome. Carlo was his nephew Bargrave, *College of Cardinals*, p. 99.

⁴ Nephew of Francesco Barberini. He is frequently mentioned with Prince Pamphilio, in connection with the extravagances of the

after him, All these Princes doing nothing but riding up and downe from one end of the Corso to the other till night came on, and then Barbes, horses and Asses used to Run for prizes, which were ordained for that purpose.

February the 22nd, wee went up towards Mary ²² Maggiore, and Passing upon the mount Viminal wee went into the Church of St Prudentiana,¹ wherein is a Chappel that was built by Cardinal Caetanus, which for the richnesse of it may be compared with many of the best in Rome. On the high Altar is the discription in Marble of the three kings worshipping our Saviour, and offring of him gifts.

Under this Altar is a couple of stones,² which one of the Fryers belonging to the Church told us, that a Priest that had the Hoast in his hand, doubting whether it was the real Body of Christ or noe, presently came blood out of the Hoast and fel upon one of these stones, and afterwards the Hoast it selfe fell upon the other, and left the stones al bloody, the Marks of which are yet to bee seene, but I doe not pin my faith upon this Relation as to this perticular.

February the 23rd, Being Sunday, wee went to the ²³ Jesuit's Church, called the Giesu,³ where at the High Altar wee saw putt up A very lively discription of the three Angels that came to Abraham and Sarah, to bring them newes of A Child that should be borne of her. The Hoast was placed almost on the topp of the scene, with the pictures of many Angels about it in the forme of praying to it. Here came about some 25 or 30 Cardinals to performe there devotion, first at this shrine, where,

Carnival, by Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage d'Italie* (1654), in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, 1903, Rome, 1906, p 184. Compare Bargrave, *College of Cardinals*, p. 100

¹ See above, p. 96, note 1. The altar piece is by Paolo Olivieri.

² The stones are still shown in the Gaetani chapel. Marucchi, p 373.

³ See above, p 102, note 3.

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to stirr them up the more, was very sweete and heavenly Musicke in 3 several places of the Church This scene was set up here by the Jesuits as a thing to stir the People up to the more devotion in the tyme of Lent.

In the Afternoone wee went to the Pollnard,¹ where wee heard very sweete and ravishing Musicke, And at the Evening wee went to the Chiesa Nova,² where wee heard most sweete Musicke and a sermon. And after, saw a kind of a Comody acted by 5 little Boyes against the Maskaradoes, who did every part so prettily, that they could scarcely be exceld by Persons of greater yeares.

- 24 *February the 24th*, Being St. Mathewe's day, wee went to Saint Mary Majora,³ where wee saw a head exposed in a Christal Cupp, which is affirmd to be the head of St Mathew,⁴ but whether it was or noe I know not, but it was much adored by the People, Both Priests and people praying to it, and happy was he that could get but his heads [hands ?] to touch the outside of the Cupp where in this head was. The teeth of it are perfectly to bee seen, and it is affirmed to have the same flesh, Beard and haire as it had when St Mathew was alive. Here was also very good Musicke by some 8 or 10 Voyces, to stirr up the people to be the more devout ; and that it might smell the sweeter, the Priest came and cast the smoake of Frankincense against the outside of the cupp. In the Chappel of Paul the 5th were exposed the Heads of the 12 Apostles in silver, with some reliques of saints, as Armes, fingers, and such like things, and the Picture of the Virgin Mary, which is affirmed to be drawne by the hand of St Luke, was open, and every one might have a sight of it, to which thousands, I thinke, this day made

¹ S. Apollinare. See above, p 118, note ¹.

² See above, p 118, note ²

³ See above, p. 85, note ².

⁴ On St Matthew's head, see above, p. 86.

there prayers, and all the place was full of Candles upon silver Candlestickes, so that the Chappell seemed like a little Paradise.

February the 25th, Wee went againe to the grand ²⁵ Giesu, where wee saw multitudes at there devotion, before the Altar and Scene that was there set up, on purpose to make the people more devout, and here wee heard most sweete Musicke, which was so excellent that it even greeved one when it was done.

This day was the last of the Carnival, for which cause was a fire worke Before the spanish Embassador's house,¹ which lasted about halfe an hower. Here were moltitudes of People to Behold it, and after it was ended every great Person, or any that were able enough, committed all the debauchery which they could invent, and stuffed there paunches full of flesh, in regard they could eat noe more flesh after this night for 45 dayes together, unlesse they had license from the Doctors of Phisicke, and those Licenses signed by A general of An order.

February the 26th, and first day of Lent, I went to ²⁶ the Pope's Pallace, where was a Cappello of Cardinals, and masse said after the usual manner. Afterwards he was not carryed out In his Chaire by sound of Trumpetts, but walked out of the Chappell on foote, which was accounted for a great matter; then he went into his Sedan. Before him Marched 6 or 7 stately horses, Then some of his Guard of Swizzers, Then came his Holinesse, and after him 16 Cardinals upon Mules, Every one of them having his Hatt upon his head, which the Pope used to send to a Man when he makes him A Cardinal. After these Marched 10 Monsignors upon their Mules, having there Capps of the same fashion of the Cardinals, but there's was blew, and the Cardinals' Capps red.

¹ In the Piazza di Spagna. "In this Piazza stands the Pallace of the Spanish Embassador, belonging always to him who is Embassador here." Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 185.

S. Sabina

After these Marched about 200 light horsemen; having there swords drawne as they marchd along, the Pope never going abroad without these Men to attend on him, and after him Moltitudes of Coaches and people in them to see him passe, and soe passing up the Hill called the Aventine to the Church named Sabina,¹ where going behind the Altar he read a little in a Booke, with his Capp, where I could see his shaved Crowne, and there, as others say, gave Ashes to his Cardinals, but I did not see it. Having stayed about halfe An hower in the Church, he went again into his Litter, where, all the way as he went, he was making Crosses with his hand and blessing the People. The People also, being so nursd up in superstition, that as soone as ever they had but a glimps of him, presently they downe upon their knees, and continue crossing themselves till he is passd by them, esteeming themselves most happy if they can but run after him as he passes a long, to receive his Blessing from him.

Mar. 1 *March the 1st*, was buried Cardinal Savelle,² of one of the Antienst Families of Italy, who was wel, and with the Pope a Wensday Morning at the above named place, and was dead the Afternoone of the same day, and layd out in state in the Church of the Franciscan Friers, by the Capitoll.³ Here came about 30 Cardinals to Waite upon him at his burial, every one of them saying a dirgy for his soule, his body, with All his Cardinals Robes, lying upon a Velvet cloath, upon a high Beere in the middle of the Church. Afterwards his Body was taken down

¹ The church of S. Sabina was built A D 425 S. Gregory the Great established here the first Station in Lent, which was the most celebrated and the most frequented of all, and at which the Pope always assisted. Marucchi, p. 63.

² The Savelli family was one of the most ancient in Rome and enjoyed many privileges Ranke, *History of Popes* (Bohn's ed.), II. p. 372, Bargrave, *College of Cardinals*, p. 73 On the Savelli tombs in S. Maria in Ara Coeli, see Hare, p. 101; Murray, p. 35.

³ S. Maria in Ara Coeli. See above, p. 102, note 1.

when the Ceremony was ended (and all Persons put out of the Church) and buried in a Chappel, among other of his Ancestors. They say this man came of the race of Julius Cesar, others say of the race of the Kings of Albania that are mentioned by Virgil: however, this Family can shew a list by succession from one to another of 600 yeares together; being though[t] to come from the line of the man that was sent by Tiberius, the Emperour, to Jerusalem for Christ to cure him of a disease, which was held incurable, and Jesus Christ being put to death before he came, he brought Veronica in his stead (the same that layd the napkin over our Saviour's face, which napkin is now kept in St Peter's Church) and she cured him.

March the 2nd, wee went to the Pollinard¹ to heare² musicke in the morning, afterwards wee went to the Church of the Augustin Friars,² where wee heard a sermon preached by a Frier, that was even like a mad man, he did so stomp and stare about the pulpitt. On this day wee also got a License to Eate flesh.³ Any man that dare to buy flesh with out a license, it is present Imprisonment for him.

In the Afternoone wee went againe to the Pollenard and heard most sweete and ravishing musicke, it being reported that the Musicke Master⁴ has 3 thousand Crownes a yeare out of this Colledge to maintaine Musicke every Sunday in the yeare.

¹ S. Apollinare See above, p 118, note ¹

² The church of Gesù e Maria, belonging to the barefooted Augustinians See above, p 105, note ¹

³ Compare Misson, *New Voyage of Italy* (Eng. trans., 1714), vol 1 pt 2, p. 533 f. "They who are at Rome in Lent may easily obtain a Licence to eat Flesh, and even the Innkeepers on the Road will accommodate you with it, but you must not ask it too openly, lest you expose 'em to Censure I have seen some Passengers quickly satisfie the Scruples of their Landlords by threatening to go to another Lodging. The Lean-days deserve that Name with a Witness, almost every where in Italy, 'tis hardly possible for a Stranger to accustom himself to those Lean-Dinners."

⁴ The Music Master was Carissimi, 1604-1674. See below, p. 146, note ¹.

At the Evening wee went to the Chiesa Nova,¹ where wee heard Musicke and a Sermon, but the Musicke was soe sweete and heavenly that I never looke to heare better as long as I am upon the Earth, it being enough to make a man out of his senses to heare those most ravishing voyces that excels all others.

All the while Lent continues there is sermons preached in many churches every morning, and Musicke in some Church or other in the Afternoone, which makes most of the Italians so devout that those churches are seildome empty of People all the day long.

- 7 *March the 7th*, which was Friday,² wee went to St. Peter's Church, where wee saw multitudes of People, some to receive pardon and Indulgency for their sins, and some confessing to the Preists. There being Priests of all nations sitting in their Boxes to confess all sorts of People.

The Pope came here in the Afternoone, it being his Custome to come to this Church every Friday as long as the Lent endures. There came before him Many Gentlemen and some Princes, then some of his Guard, then came the Pope in his Sedan. After him followed two Red Horse litters, very Rich, with his Armes al embroidered about them in gold and silver. After them came about 12 or 14 Cardinals upon their Mules, and about 10 Monsignors followed them, likewise upon Mules. After them followed some 200 light horsemen that are the Pope's guard. Then followed the Pope's two Coaches, each of them having six horses a peece. And so the Pope, performing some piece of devotion at the Church, returned home to his pallace in the same manner.

¹ See above, p. 118, note ².

² There was a station, with special Vespers at St. Peter's, every Friday during Lent. Tucker and Malleson, pt 1. p 537.

Afterwards wee went to A little Church called the Auditory of St Marcel,¹ which is behind the Corso, where wee heard Musicke. This place being appointed for the purpose, there being every Friday in the lent a Consort of the best voyces in Rome at this place. I thinke there was in this little Church all the strangers about Rome, where having waited some two howers, at last Musicke began with some a douzen voyces A Lute, Violin and Organs, which sounded most sweetly, especially the Lute and Violin was so rare, that being once out of Rome it must never be expected to heare the like againe: the Subject that the musicke was upon was in the Praise of Thomas Aquinas, which A Dominican Priest extolled to the Skyes, calling him his Saint, and praying to him, that I beleaved the Priest lookes onely to be saved by the merrits of St Thomas, and not by the merrits of Christ.

S. Marcello

March the 9th, was kept the feast of St Francis at 9 a Church called St. Maria Nova,² at the lower End of the Foro Romana, which church was hung all about with very rich hangings of yellow and red Taffaty, and in some places with Cloath of Silver; and the more to honour this Saint came some 20 Cardinals and most of the Gentrye in Rome. The High Altar was adorned with some 50 Silver Candlestickes and Flower potts. The Body of the Saint was also exposed in Brasse gilded over with gold, Just under the

S. Maria
Nuova

¹ S. Marcello, mentioned 499 and said to have been founded in 305 by S. Lucina, a Roman matron Gregory XI gave it to the Servites in 1373, who rebuilt it in 1519 Hare, p. 60; Murray, p. 26 Compare Aerssen de Sommelsdyck, *Voyage d'Italie* (1654), in Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche (1903), Rome, 1906, p. 184. "La musique la plus ravissante que j'aye entendu à Rome a esté à l'oratoire de S. Marcello, qui estoit composé de tous les meilleurs musiciens tant de voix que d'instruments, de toute la ville Ceux-cy s'assembloyent tous les vendredis à la nuict et faisoient un concert le plus mélodieux qu'on se pouvoit imaginer, car les meilleurs compositeurs d'Italie y concouroient pour faire voir l'excellence de leur pièce, et les musiciens s'évertuoient aussi pour surmonter leur compagnons, car ils avoient tousiours pour auditeurs pour le moins une douzaine de cardinaux et une bonne partie de la noblesse estrangère et romaine."

² On S. Maria Nuova, see above, p. 73, note ¹.

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Image of the Virgin; at which all people that came into the Church were very desirous to sanctifye there Beads, so that I thinke there was A Cart load of Beads that toucht this Brazen Image this Day.

Here was very sweete and heavenly musicke performed by some of the sweetest singers in Rome, and after it was ended, and the Cardinals departed, then came moltitudes of people to performe their devotion at this shrine

Afterward wee went to the Chiesa Nova,¹ where wee heard that never enough to be praised and delightful Musicke. The subject was Made by A Prince of Rome and Composed by Charissima, who for that is accounted the best in the world, and sung by Bonnaventure, Sinesia and the two Vuulpies, all which made so sweete a harmonye, that never the like must be againe expected, unlesse in heaven and in Rome.

Farnese Palace : *March the 10th*, wee went to the Duke of Farnese's Palace,² which is in Campo Floro, and belongs to the Duke of Parma. Before one enters into the Pallace there are two very fine Fountaines,³ the like are hardly againe in Rome: then one entring into the Courte sees many Ancient statues and Tombes All about, As the statue of Hercules leaning upon his Clubb,⁴ and counted by all the

¹ See above, p 118, note ² The composer referred to is Giacomo Carissimi, 1604-1674. Two of the singers have been identified, L C Sanese (soprano), who entered the Papal choir 2 Nov 1661, and G B Vulpio (contralto), who entered the choir 26 June 1656. A de Bolsena, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il Coro della cap. Pont.*, Rome, 1711, pp 204-205

² The most majestic of all the Roman Palaces, begun by Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, 1534-1550), and finished by his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. The collection was dispersed in the 18th century, and the greater part of it is now in the Naples Museum. Hubner, *Le Statue di Roma*, Leipsig, 1912, pp. 96 ff, gives the history of the collection. There is an inventory of 1697 in *Documenti inediti per servire alla Storia dei Musei d'Italia*, Rome, 1877, II pp. 380-389.

³ The water falls into granite basins, found in the Baths of Caracalla in the time of Paul II.

⁴ The Farnese Hercules by Glycon, now at Naples. It was brought from Athens by Caracalla to adorn his Thermae, and was found among the ruins in 1540.

wonder of the world ; it being Reported that the waight in gold hath been offered for this Statue, which is made so much to the life, representing all the parts of a man's Body soe much, and having soe lively A Countenance that it seemes even living. On the left hand of this statue is another of Hercules, but not carved so admirably as the former.

On the other side is the statue of the Goddesses Flora,¹ And by it a statue of Commodus, one of the Roman Emperors, carved naked in the forme of A gladiator, having a child dead on his left shoulder, A piece so rarely well made that nothing can represent a man more lively in that posture then this statue. Over against it is the statue of A gladiator, naked, with his Helmet at his foote, and not farr from it the statue of Julius Cesar, with one of Fortune over against him, All those and many more being made in the Romans' tyme, and found under ground some hundred yeares since, and, being statues so rarely carved, are here preserved as Monuments of Antiquity.

There is also to bee seene in this Place, kept up in a Place made for that purpose, A statue² that, for the Rarenesse of the worke, is the wonder of All that lookes upon it, Which represents A queen and her two sonnns, whose Husband being inticed from her by a Witch that was in love with Him, her two Sonns, having knowledge of it, Get this Witch and tye her to the hornes of A Madd Bull, where they throw Bull and Woman downe A steepe Rocke. This the statue doth Represent, where every

¹ The Farnese Flora, now at Naples, also found in the Baths of Caracalla Nic. Stone, Jr., in 1638 says. " The rare statuas of Hercules and the other of Flora being so rare that they take the luster of all other thinkes away after one has sene them " Walpole Society Volume for 1918-1919, p 170.

² The Farnese Bull, now at Naples The sculptors were Apollonius and Tauriscus It dates probably from the first century B.C. Pliny tells us that it was made from one block of marble. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, p. 223 It was found in the Baths of Caracalla, much injured, in 1546. The principal restorations were carried out under the superintendence of Michelangelo.

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thing Is made so extream lively, that it puts every one into an Amazement that ever lookes upon it. The two young men having tyed the Woman by A Cord to the hornes of the Bull, It is made so lively that one would even take it for two living men to be A throwing A Bull and A Woman tyed to the hornes of it downe A Rocke, And the Mother looking on. And all this Vast piece made of one stone, and every thing in so lively A posture that it wants nothing but life to make it living The Cords wherewith the Woman is tied to the hornes of the Bull lookes so naturall, that sometymes persons cannot beleieve but it is made of flax until they handle it, And indeed there is nothing about this piece, but what is made so excessive lively, that better and more lively it cannot be made.

It was first made by Pollidorus in the Island of Rhodes before our Saviour's tyme, And afterwards brought to Rome, as one of the most incomparablest pieces of worke in the world. Here is also in this place the statue of Nero on Horsebacke, made when he was a youth, A very rare and lively piece of worke, with other statues of Marble found some yeares since under ground.

Going up staires is a discription in two statues of the Tiber and the Nilus, and in the middle a pretty fancy of an engraver, of A Dolphin wound about a Boy, made extreame prettily and very lively. In the first Rome wee entered in wee saw [] of Alexander, Duke of Parma,¹ treading upon John Calvin, having Victory behind him, and triumphing over the Protestant Party, a Statue

¹ Compare Keyser, *Travels*, 1760, II. p. 385. "The hall is adorned with the statue of Alexander, duke of Parma, who signalized himself in the Flemish wars: it is of marble, and was cut out of a fragment of one of the fine pillars which anciently belonged to the temple of Peace." Parma (1546-1592) was a grandson of Charles V, and the foremost general of his age. He distinguished himself at Lepanto (1571). As Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, he captured Antwerp (1585), and compelled Henri IV of France to raise the siege of Paris (1590).

extreamely natural and cutt out all of one Stone ; there are also in this Rome six statues, 3 of the Curatii, and 3 of the Family of Horatii that fight one against another in the first rising of the Roman state ; At the lower End of the Rome, two very fine statues of Abundance, and about 14 Antient heads, made in the Romans' tyme. In another Chamber, all about the Wals, is the discription of this Prince's Victoryes and Battels, painted extreame lively and Natural¹

In another Rome Are the Heads of the twelve Roman Emperors, all of Ancient worke. At the Lower end of the Rome the Statue of Clorinda, and by it another of Tancrede on Horsbacke ; which were both in the warrs at the tyme of Godfrey of Bollongne.

In another Rome are about 16 or 18 heads of the Ancient Philosophers, and one of Petrarch, the famous Poet, All worth their waight in gold as well for the art As Antiquity that these pieces hold.

And In another Rome Are many statues much worthy to be taken notice off, but that which is most of all worthy to be observed is the rare painting which is about this Rome, and painted by Caraccio.² The name of the man is enough to speake out the rarenesse of the worke that is to be seene in this Rome, there being by Report noe man

¹ Keysler, *loc. cit.*, writes · “ In the anti-chamber, the principal actions of the above mentioned Alexander Farnese, the interviews betwixt Charles V and Francis I at Nice, and the conference betwixt Luther and Cardinal Cajetane are painted in fresco by Taddeo Zuccaro.” (Taddeo Zuccaro, 1529-1566)

² The room on the first floor is decorated with frescoes by Annibale Caracci and his scholars “ generally considered his best performance.” Murray, p. 235 ; Hare, p. 453. “ In this gallery Annibal Caracci has immortalized himself but his brother Augustin had a share in some of the pieces ; and Galatea and Aurora, to be seen here, are entirely his. Their uncle Luigi Caracci has also given a specimen of his skill here, in the device of the Farnese family over the door.” Keysler, *op. cit.* II. p. 386. On the Caracci family, see Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, VI. pp 53 ff. Annibale, the most famous of them all, was born in 1560 and died in 1609.

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in the world for that tyme so excellent in this Art of painting as himselfe, which may well be very true, in regard it is impossible to expresse more Art then is here expressed about this Rome

- 14 *March the 14th*, hearing that the Pope, according to his usual custome in this Lent, came from his Pallace of Monte Caval to St Peter's Church to performe some devotion there, wee went there, and after a little while tarrying wee saw the Pope coming: where coming over the Bridge upon the Tiber by the Castle of St Angelo, All the soulders stood upon the walls of the Castle to salute him with shot as he passd by, then passing from thence up to St Peter's, first came three white horses, lead by 3 severall men, the cloaths upon them having the Pope's armes wrought in gold, then came some Bishops and Gentlemen upon very fine horses, then followed the Pope's Nephew and some Dukes and great Persons, then came the Pope in his Sedan. After him came about 20 Cardinals on their mules, and after them some Monsignors, then followed the Pope's Coaches, and two horselitters, and after came the Pope's Guard of Swizers, and after them followed the Pope's light horsemen with their naked swords in there hands. Then the Pope going out of his Sedan went into the Church on foote, and knelt before the Altar where, they say, St Ambrose is buried. He having prayed a little while here, and at the end of his devotion signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse, he rose from thence, and walked behind the great Altar, and there did performe the like devotion for about halfe a quarter of an hower. From thence he went and kneeld before this High Altar and there did the like. So having performed these pieces of devotion, he went out of the Church into his Sedan, and as he was going into his chaire came multitudes of People, calling him their most holy Father and desiring his benediction. So smiling and laughing and crossing himselfe, he went into his Chaire,

and was carryed againe to his Pallace of Monte Caval. Afterwards wee went to the Oratory of S^t Marie, where were multitudes of People to heare the rare Musicke, which is there every Friday in the Lent, which indeed was extream good and excellent, but not altogether so sweet and heavenly as the other Friday.

March the 16th, wee went to the Prince of Burghesi's 16 *Villa Borghese* Villa,¹ which is some halfe a mile out of the Citty, going out of the Porta del Popolo Wee first entered into the Garden which is very spacious and large, And walking a good way downe, wee turnd on the right hand and so came to the Pallace, whose onely out side and wals may be worth thousands, being all about inlaid with Ancient Relieves made in the Romans' tyme.

Entring into the great Hall, which is Just before the doore, wee saw a very rare and lively piece of Painting concerning the Pope's Cavalcate when he goes to take possession of S^t John de Lutteran. One the other side, A piece of painting concerning the Great Turke's Cavalcate when he goes out on hunting ² Over this a piece concerning Eve's giving the Apple to Adam, a very rare piece, and another of Rome tryumphing, with many other Pieces of painting, and many Marble Pillars and ancient heads about this Hall.

In another is a very fine statue of David throwing a stone out of his sling against Goliath, and made by the famous Barnino.³ At the upper end of the Rome is that

¹ The Villa Borghese was founded in the beginning of the 16th century by Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese, with the co-operation of his uncle Paul V, for the benefit of the people of Rome. Many valuable items were removed to Paris by Napoleon. A great portion of the existing collection has been made since then. Hare, p. 622; A. Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, Rome, 1893. The villa has now been purchased by the Government, and is styled officially Villa Umberto Primo.

² "Both by Tempesta." Keysler, *op. cit.*, II p. 411 (Antonio Tempesta, painter and engraver, 1555-1630)

³ Made by Bernini in his 18th year. Reproduced in Max von Boehn, *L. Bernini*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 6.

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so famous and renowned statue of Seneca bleeding to Death, made in touch-stone, but so extreame lively, representing a dying and languishing posture, that is esteemed both inestimable and incomparable. By this statue is A Wolfe in Red marbl[e], having two little Boyes, representing Romulus and Remus, sucking at her tetes.

In another, Bacchus, a great Cupid, Also A statue of Appollo pursuing Daphne, who was turnd into A Lawrel tree, A most rare and exquisite piece, and made by that most famous Engraver, Barnino,¹ and esteemed to be one of the Best pieces that ever he made, and under it is ingraven this dustich.

Quisquis Amans sequitur fugitive gaudia formæ
Fronde manus implet, baccas seu carpit amaras.

Over against this statue is another piece of worke of the same man, viz. Æneas carrying his father, Anchises, out of Troy.²

In another Rome, a great head of Pluto, another of Xenocrates, A statue of Melenya, of Bacchus and Appollo, the head of Paul the 5th and Cardinal Borghese. A statue of Venus with a Cupid resting himselfe under Mars his helmet.

In a 5th Rome wee saw the statue of that Famous Gladiator,³ the worke of Agasias, an Ephesian, made in a forme of threatning the heavens, and bearing all the waight of his Body on his knee ; here is also A statue of Hercules, and two Egyptian Gods like Monkyes.

¹ Reproduced in Max von Boehn, *op cit*, p. 8 The lines were written by Urban VIII in his youth. Hare, p 626.

² Made by Bernini in his 15th year Hare, p 626. Reproduction in Max von Boehn, *op cit*, p. 5.

³ The Borghese Gladiator, or Warrior, found in the 16th century in the ruins of the old city of Antium. Since 1808 it has been in the Louvre.

The statue of Saturne with a Child in his Armes, neere it Ceres. A Gypsye, part made in touch and part in oriental marble, with many Ancient Heads upon Marble Pillars about the Rome.

Mounting up some 76 steps, wee came into a Terrasse, where there is the head of a Sea horse, and over against it is the head of An Elephant, with several heads and statues in this place.

Then going into a Chamber, there's the statue of an Egyptian Woman rapt in a Mantle, through which you seeme to see her shape, made with much Art. Alsoe A Diana of Brasse, but her hunting Coate of Oriental Marble very transparent. This statue, they say, was adored by Pompey. A Pretty piece of a naked sleeping Venus, and a Cupid holding up his shirt and pissing.

An hermaphrodite sleeping upon a quilt of marble, very Artificially made. Severall Ancient heads of the Romans upon pillars of marble, and a mushrome turnd into a stone.

Three Cupids sleeping and lying like those at Matteo's Villa, of whit marble. A Satyr and Cupid. A prospective of A garden, Pallace, Library and Jewellary, &c.

A Cupid sleeping, rarely done in touch, Two great ancient Urnes with the [] of twined serpents of touch [] is an excellent piece with a rich carved frame, against it the side face of Alexander, and some excellent pieces of mignature.

A good piece of A souldiers bringing a red and bloody garment to a queene,¹ who at the sight of it is fainting, and supported by an [], the rareness of this piece is such that it may well invite any person to take the

¹ This must be the picture of "a soldier showing the bloody robe of Pompey the Great to Julia, his widow, over the door, painted by Gentileschi." Keyser, *Travels*, 1760, II p. 417. On Orazio Gentileschi, 1562-1647, see Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, XIII. p. 410, where reference is made to the artist's work in the Villa Borghese.

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benefit of a Chaire opposite to it to contemplate the Art that is shewne in this picture ; which being invited to, was there taken prisner before I could thinke where I was, and might have satt there till this tyme, had not the Guardaroba been as willing to release mee as I was at first to sit down there ¹

A Rome fild with nothing but pieces of Italian Beautyes, but yet few or none equalling to the Beautyes in England.²

Several pieces of Florentyne workes, and many looking glasses painted very curiously with flowers, Birds, Beasts and the like.

At one end of the house, on the out side, is placed that Admirable piece of Curtius his leaping,³ horse and all, into the gulph, the piece is set on high, and therefore better presents that so lively and noble posture.

Soe walking along the garden, wee went into the Park adioyning to it, wherein the Prince often hunts, and for that purpose keepees many Deare and other game there for his pleasure. Out of the Parke wee went into A Vinyard, where, at the lower end of it, are very pretty devices of water workes, where a man is wett without perceiving it. Among other pretty devices there is a Jetteau of Leather, which casts up the water extreame high and with great force, and which may be turned any way one pleases to wett any person that stands within sight of it, the experience of which I too much tryed, being forced to creepe up close to a wall to hinder the pleasure

¹ Lassels describes a great chair " which locketh fast any man that sitteth downe in it. Its sayd to be a chair of revenge, or a trap-chaire for an enemy " *Voyage of Italy*, 1670, II. pp. 173-174. Mortoft is doubtless referring to this chair.

² " Another apartment contains the portraits of near seventy beauties of different nations, painted by Scipio Gaetano and Padovanino." Keysler, II. p. 417

³ Compare Keysler, *loc cit*, " Curtius leaping into a chasm, painted on a plate of silver, gilt." Mettius Curtius, a distinguished Sabine, 362 B.C. According to legend he sacrificed his life by leaping into a chasm in the Forum, which the soothsayers declared could only be closed if Rome's greatest treasure were thrown into it

that Mr Hare tooke in wetting mee, and yett all would not doe So laughing at those pretty devices, wee went out of the Garden, and soe to the Chiesa Nova,¹ where we heard very good musicke.

March the 18th, wee went in the Afternoon to the 18 Vatican,² which is the Pallace of the Pope, and for the Statelynesse of the Place may be counted one of the richest Buildings in Christendome; there are counted in this Pallace sixteen thousand and eight hundred Chambers; It used to be formerly inhabited by the other Popes, but this Pope is more delighted with the pleasant scituation of his Pallace at Mounte Caval,³ and comes here onely a weeke or two Before Easter for his more conveniency, in regard he is enjoyned to be at S^t. Peter's to performe some pieces of devotion.

Vatican

Wee went up staires and saw a very stately Hall adorned by Clement the 8th, which is very finely painted by one Cherubin,⁴ a famous man in the Art, where every piece about the Hal is made so lively and naturall that he shewed well he was second to none in this Art of painting. At one end of the Rome he hath painted him selfe naked

¹ On the Chiesa Nuova, see above, p 118, note ².

² Mortoft now returns to the Vatican He has already described the armoury, the library and the statues See above, pp 77, 128 and notes The Vatican has been a Papal residence since about A D 500 The building was occupied by Charlemagne when he came to Rome for his coronation in 800. Nicholas V (1447-1455) conceived the idea of making it the most magnificent palace in the world, and of uniting in it all the government offices and dwellings of the Cardinals, but he died before he could carry out his designs On the subsequent history, see Hare, p. 533, Murray, p 296 Compare Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p 88 "The Vatican Pallace is such a Sea of lodgings that 'tis said three Kings may at the same time have roome enough for themselves and followers"

³ Now the Royal Palace, begun by Gregory XIII in 1574, but continued and enlarged by his successors.

⁴ Cherubino Alberti (1552-1615) The Sala Clementina contains the most important work of the brothers Alberti in Rome. Compare Orbaan J. A. F. *Documenti sul barocco in Roma*, Rome, 1920, pp. 517 ff; Mancini, *Viaggio di Roma per vedere le Pitture*, ed. by L. Schudt, Róm. Forschungen (Bibl. Hertziana IV), Leipzig, 1923, p. 52.

with his Mrs. in his armes; a piece very lively and naturall, And well shewes that as he was excellent in this Art of painting, soe he was not altogether Ignorant in matters of love.

The second Rome hanged with red Velvett.

The third is the Consistorian Hall,¹ which is a place where the Cardinals and Pope meete every 15 dayes about state Affaires when the Pope lives there; this Rome is very finely painted by one Pietro Crotona²

4, 5, and 6, hanged with red velvet.

7, where the Pope gives Audience, having A very rich chaire of state, and hanged about with red Velvet. The 8th hanged [] by it a little chapel,³ where is a piece done by Romanedi. The 9, 10, 11, 12 are several Romes hung for the Pope's Guard and Gentlemen to waite in. The 13th is a very large Rome, al guldred very richly on the Topp. In this Rome the Pope dined with the Queen of Sweedland when she came first to Rome. Soe going from this wee passd through 5 or 6 Romes more, and then passed through the stanza of Matilda, where she and her whole story is painted, how she gave her whole estate away to the Church.⁴

¹ Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed), p 85. "The Consistory, a noble room, the volto painted in grotesque as I remember. At the upper end is an elevated throne and a baldacchino, or canopy of state, for his Holiness over it"

² Pietro da Cortona, 1596-1669. See Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vii, p. 486.

³ The Sala Regia and the Cappella Paolina which opens out of it. I cannot identify the painter, unless he is Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (1610-1662), who painted Vatican frescoes for Urban VIII. Lassels says, ii p. 50: "The roof of it [the chapel] also was rarely painted by Federico Zuccari, but the smoke of the candles upon Mandy Thursday, when this Chappel serves for the Sepulcher, hath so defaced these pictures that a farre worse hand would have served there."

⁴ Apparently not now shown. Matilda, Countess of Tuscany (1046-1115) came into vast estates at an early age. On her death she left all her great estates in Tuscany and elsewhere in Northern and Central Italy to the Pope. The Donation of Matilda led to fresh rivalries and much quarrelling between the Papacy and the Empire. The paintings were the work, in part, of Fabrizio Chiari, 1615-1695. Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. p. 485.

Then passing though another, where Charles the 5th is painted riding into Rome betwixt two Cardinals, wee came into the Chamber of Constantine,¹ where his whole story is painted by that most famous man Raphael Urbin, some 130 yeares agoe. In the Rome next to this is a fine discription of the school of Athens,² where on one side of the Wall, is the Picture of this Raphael, drawne by himselfe, and seemes almost naturall; there is also the discription of the Angel appearing to St. Peter in Prison,³ done by this Raphael, a most rare and admirable piece, and seemes even as if it were naturall, it being Impossible to see a more lively representation.

From these Romes, going through some 7 or 8 more, where wee beheld most incomparable pieces of painting upon the wall, wee came into one where wee saw upon A Table the Picture of the Virgin Mary with A little Child in her Armes, painted upon Allablasters,⁴ but so finely and delicately done, that it is much pleasure for one to looke upon it, to behold that excellent Art that is shewed on this piece.

From this Chamber wee went Into A little Cabinet where the Popes used to lye in the winter tyme;⁵ And Just out of this wee enterd into that famous Gallery, adorned with most admirable painting by Clement the Eight. The Gallery is some 150 paces long, where on both sides in the Wals is the discription of all the Cityes

¹ This large room was not completed until after Raphael's death. He had prepared the drawings, and had begun to execute them in oil. Murray, p. 311.

² In the Stanza della Segnatura Murray, p. 308

³ The Deliverance of St. Peter. Murray, p. 310.

⁴ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 57: "In the Pope's bed-chamber I saw the grave picture of our Lady with her Sonne in her armes, called Saint Mary Maior, its painted curiously upon a white transparent stone three fingers thick, and yet shewing the picture on both sides if held to the sun"

⁵ Compare Lassels, II, p. 58. "The old appartament of Pius Quintus, with the great wodden bed"

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in Italy, and painted by the most famousest men in this Pope's dayes.¹ This gallery, for the Curiousnesse of the worke that is here in it, may well be said to be Papall, In regard it exceeds all the buildings that any King hath been the author off.

¹ Pantheon
(S. Maria
Rotonda)

From this Pallace wee went to the Rotundo² where was a feast kept to the honour of St Joseph Here wee heard a Consort of very rare and admirable musicke, and saw many good pieces of painting, which is alwayes observed to be set out on the Porch of this Church when this Feast is observed. This Rotundo is one of the antienst, entirest Antiquity that is to be seene in Rome. It was built by Marcus Agrippa (the same that wee Read of in the Acts of the Apostles) for a Temple to the honour of the Gods, and it is built of such a strange fashion that there is noe windowes belonging to it, but all the light comes in at the topp, the Place being built Round, and makes the Church as light as if it had windowes all about it The topp at first was Covered with silver. and afterwards with Corinthian Brasse, and now with Lead, and here stands, whole and intire, as a Monument of the Roman greatnesse.

At night I went to the Chiesa Nova,³ where I heard that most sweete and melodious musicke which is here made on sundayes and holydayes, and to make it the more heavenly, if I may soe call it, for without doubt better cannot be upon Earth, was here the sweete singer and

¹ The Gallery of Maps, 160 feet long, with maps of Italy and its islands painted in 1572-1585 by the Dominican Friar, Ignazio Danti, afterwards Bishop of Alatri Murray, p. 324. Mortoft now leaves the Vatican without mentioning the Sixtine Chapel, nor does Lassels (ii. p. 50) do it real justice.

² The Pantheon, or Church of S. M. Rotonda, the best preserved monument of ancient Rome. Urban VIII (1623-1644) plundered the gilt bronze ceiling of the portico, 450,250 lbs. in weight, to make eighty cannon for the Castle of S. Angelo, and to adorn the high altar of S. Peter's Murray, p. 181; Hare, p. 475.

³ See above, p. 118, note ².

eunuch Bonaventure, who Is esteemed to have the most famousest and sweetest voyce of any in Rome, and whose voyce did sound so sweetly this night, that it might be well counted more then humane.

March the 20th, wee went to the Porte del Popolo, at which Church¹ there was exposed the Picture of the Virgin Mary upon the Altar, which the Catholickes beleewe was painted by the hand of S^t Luke The Arme also of S^t Luke was carryed about in procession. Here wee heard extream good musicke, and afterwards went into the Garden of the Prince Justinianus,² which is close by this Church, and is very large and full of Ancient statues and Urnes, which are all about the Garden. On the upper end, In A long walke of the garden, wee saw the statue of Scipio Africanus In the habitt of A senator. Two Gladiators, Marcus Cato and Cassius, both in the habit of Senators, which Cassius was the first man that gave a stabb to Julius Cesar in the Senate House; A little from these, the Statue of Pompey In the Habit of A senator, And just over this is the statue of Mark Antony in the same habit. By those stands opposite, one against another, the statues of Marcus Cicero and Agrippa, of which Agrippa wee read off in the Scripture, and which was the man that built the Rotundo, One of the intirest and famousest Antiquities that is againe in the whole world. In one Corner of the Garden are the Heads of Caius Marcus and Lucius Silla. All these and many more Are of the Old Romans' worke, every statue also having the name graven upon it whose person it represents.

*S. Maria del
Popolo*

*Giustiniani
Gardens*

¹ S. Maria del Popolo, founded in 1099, on the spot where stood the Tomb of Nero Alexander VII (1655-1667) modernised the whole building on the plans of Bernini. Marucchi, p. 519; Murray, p. 3, Hare, p. 27.

² The gardens, formerly belonging to the Giustiniani family, were incorporated in the Borghese Gardens early in the 19th century. Platner and others, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1842, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 227.

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*S. Croce in
Gerusalemme*

Going out of this Garden, wee went up by Saint Mary Maggiora,¹ and soe to the Church of St Croce In Jerusalem,² where wee saw multitudes of women goe downe into the chappel which they say was formerly the Chamber of St Hellen, and now made a Chappel, where noe women is suffered to enter but onely on the 20th day of March.³

Afterwards we went up into the place where all the Reliques are kept ; and which are thought to be brought from Jerusalem by St Hellen.

Here first wee saw One of the thirty pence that Judas tooke to betray Our Saviour, which is kept in A cupp of Christal enchased about with silver. It is about the bignesse of a Twopence, but much thicker, having the stamp of some man's head on it. After every one had had a sight of this, then was shewed us two thornes that belonged to the Crowne of thornes that was putt on Our Saviour's head, kept also in a glasse of Christal, the thornes were to my thinking as long [as] one's finger, and seemed very sharp and spiked ; then wee saw One of the Nails that pierced Our Saviour at his Crucifixion, which seemed as big as a little Cart naile, but whether this be one of them I know not, In regard an English gentleman that was in our Company said he had seene eight of them in several other places, but whether this was one of them or noe, this with the rest of the Reliques were much revered by those persons that were there, and they thought there Beads much sanctified when they toucht the glasses that these Reliques are preserved in.

Afterward wee saw the Inscription that was put over Our Saviour's head at his Passion, where is written In

¹ See above, p. 85, note ².

² See above, p. 91, note ³.

³ Armellini, p. 798, gives the inscription relating to the exclusion of women from the chapel of St. Helena. See also Marucchi, p. 348.

3 Languages · Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jewes. It is A piece of wood some two spans a long and about a span broad ¹

Then wee saw some splinters of the Crosse in A glasse of Christal, wherein one might just perceive some little splinters of wood, which they affirme to be some of the Crosse upon which our Saviour Christ suffered upon. These Reliques are here preserved with much reverence, and shewed upon certaine dayes about Easter tyme to stirr up the People to more devotion.

Afterwards we went to the Chiesa Nova, but not finding any thing there according to expectation wee returned home to our Lodging

March the 21st, wee went to the Pallace of the Prince ²¹ *Palace Justinian,*² who was Nephew to Pope Gregory the 13th. In the Court are about 14 ancient statues, all very admirable and rare pieces of Antiquity. And going up staires, wee saw many statues of Marble and tooke notice how richly the Romes of this Pallace were furnished, and also of those most rare and lively Pictures, which are very plentifully bestowed upon all the Romes, as wee passd along, but that which makes this Pallace so famous, is a long gallery, where in [are] Six hundred Ancient statues and heads of the old Romans' making, some representing the Roman Emperors, some senators, some empresses, some Philosophers, but not one of them but what is ancient, and all most rarely carved, soe that tyme hath very little defaced the beauty of these ancient peeces of Antiquity, but here stand as monuments of those Romans, which were the Authors of those things which tyme it selfe defaces not.

¹ See above, p 92, note ².

² The palace was begun by Fontana in 1580 and completed by Borromini. It is built on a portion of the site of Nero's baths, and was formerly celebrated for its antiquities. The greater part of them can be seen in the Vatican, or in the Museo Torlonia. Murray, p. 194.

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English College

From hence wee went to the English Colledge,¹ which is close by the Pallace of Farnesse, in Camplius Florus. There are about 40 English young men that are here students, and are here taught and maintained for nothing for 7 yeares tyme, and afterwards are sent into England to performe those conditions which they first promised before they could enter into this Colledge. One of the Romes is set round about with the pictures of theire Martyrs, as they cal them, which have been sent into England from about 1681 [1581?] to 1646 and have all ben put to death for their popish Religion Wee have seen their Library, and afterwards went into the Church which is adioyning to their Colledge, about the wals of which are the storyes of many that have suffered for their Religion and such like. The Church is but very little, and therefore musicke, as they say, sounds admirable well here, which was constantly used to be here maintaine on Sundays and holydays, but in regard that England is so full of Heretickes one of the Popes abolished the custome, and tooke away the lands that used to maintaine it,² so that the English Catholicks here Loose some of their priviledges for the Heretickes in England ; which otherwise they might have enjoyed.

¹ Nothing like a hospice for English pilgrims existed in Rome until the 14th century, when the Universitas Pauperum Anglicorum was founded and dedicated to S Thomas of Canterbury. In the time of Elizabeth it became a college for educating candidates for priesthood, and it continued to supply England with priests until it was suppressed under the first Empire by the French, who destroyed the church and quartered their troops in the building. It was reopened in 1818. Milton was a guest there in 1638. The pictures of the martyrs are still preserved. Murray, p. 236; Hare, p. 451. They were due to the benefaction of an Englishman, George Gilbert, who died in Rome in 1583. The series comprised 63 martyrs of England, from Fisher (1535) to Thirkeld (1583). Gasquet, *History of the Venerable English College*, London, 1920, pp 121-122.

² Sixtus V, disgusted by the divisions in the College, withdrew the annual subsidy of 3,000 scudi, which his predecessor had given from the Papal treasury for its support. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

From this Colledge wee went straight to St. Marcel,¹ and their heard the most sweete and harmonious musicke, which one, being once out of Rome, must never upon Earth be expected to heare the like. It was composed of at least 20 voyces, organes, Lute, Violl, and two Violins, all which made such melodious and delightful musicke that Cicero with all his eloquence could never discribe the sweetnesse of this more then sweete and harmonious musicke

March the 22nd, wee hired horses and went to that so²² much famous and Renowned Place of Frescatee, soe much *Frascati* talkt of by all for those Rare water workes, which cannot be equalled againe in the whole world. It lyes some 12 mile distant from Rome, where, as one rides a long, is beheld the pleasantest and delightfulest countrye in the world.

There are but three Pallaces In this Towne which makes this place so famous. One belonging to the Prince Lodovisius, Another, called Belvedere, belonging to the Prince Pamphilia, and the third, some 1 mile out of the Town, called Monte Dragone, belonging to the Prince Burghese.

We enterd first into that of the Prince Lodovisius,² where Before wee enterd into the Pallace wee tooke notice of A fine and delightfull prospect which farr exceeds any that could be seene in Rome, in regard of the plainesse of the Countrey for many Miles together; then wee passed through the Pallace, which was very finely and richly furnished, and replenished with many curious and lively pictures. From thence wee went into the garden, Into which, As wee entered, the water flew up from the ground

¹ See p. 145, note 1.

² Villa Ludovisi, now Conti-Torlonia. The villa is not now attractive, and the gardens are no longer famous for their waterworks, but the view is still renowned, and the water-theatre and cascade are very beautiful. Hare, p. 680.

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and wett us before wee could well perceive from whence it came, then wee went to one end of the garden, which is very spacious and large, and there saw a very fine fountaine, which was made with such Art that the water issued al about in potts and vessels in many several places There was a fine Cascade above this fountaine, from which the water ran down with very great force; wee could not goe up this place without being soundly wett, in regard the man let the water flye out from under the staires, in somuch there could be noe way to avoid it. Afterwards, Turning a Cocke under the great fountaine, of a sudain came forth such showers of water, and with such force, that one might easily Heare it as give such cracks, as if it wer thunder, and one might also perceive both snow and haile to issue out of the water, which, to one that never see the like before, seemed a very marvalous thing. After Passing out of this Garden, wee went into the famous Garden of Belvedere,¹ the like againe, as is credibly thought, is not to be found againe in the world. It was made by Cardinal Aldobrandinus, Nephew to Pope Clement the 8th.

Belvedere

The Garden is seated upon A hill, where as wee entered into a Court before the Pallace, is one of the finest Prospects in the world, the Countrey being so even, and the ground so fruitfull about it, that it seemes even like a Paradise. Wee first entered into the Pallace, which is so stately as any Prince can desire, but that which makes this place so famous is the rare water workes before this

¹ The Villa Aldobrandi, built in 1603 by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandi, nephew of Clement VIII. The waterworks were designed by Fontana and finished by Olivieri of Tivoli. From the beauty of its position and the extensive prospect it commands it was long known by the name of Belvedere. Murray, p. 474. Compare Bp. Burnet, *Travels* (1686), ed. of 1750, p. 238. "The waterworks in the Aldobrandin Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in France the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunder and storms that this maketh is noble. The Water-Works of the Ludovisio and the Monte Dragone have likewise a Greatness in them that is natural."

Pallace; where is six very fine fountaines. In one is the statue of A satyr holding A horne to his mouth, the which the water make to sound so shrill and natural that noe man can sound a horne with more force, and with better sound, then this satyr, which onely proceeds from the force of the water. In another is the statue of A hercules holding Bagpipes to his Mouth, which sound very finely and with as much melody as any man can make upon that Instrument.

In a third fountaine proceedes forth a vast spout of water which mounts up extreame high, insomuch that it thunders, snowes, hailes, and raines altogether, which is extreame pretty to behold. On the top of this fountaine is the Pope's Armes, out of which, in at least 40 several [places?], runs little spouts of water, extreamly delightful to behold And over this is a great Cascadoe of water, which runs downe some 20 degrees with very great force. The going up to this Cascadoe is about 100 degrees, where there is noe going up without being soundly wett by those spouts of water, which came from under the degrees and other parts of this water worke. When one is On the top one may take notice of these rare water workes, which the world can hardly equal. All the place is covered about with Lawrel trees, And every thing made with such art, that the place doth well deserve the name that is given to it, which is Belvedere, for a fairer and delightfuller sight noe man can possibly behold. From hence wee went downe into a Hal, where at the upper End is a Hill which is called Parnassus, where, on the top, sits Appollo, and round About, upon several degrees, the nine Muses, where on also are the shapes of all sortes of Birds. Behind this Rocke are a paire of Organs, which are made with such art that noe man can play and keep better tyme on a paire of Organs, then the water doth upon these. Also Appollo and the 9 Muses, Having al sorts of

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Instruments at there mouths, they make different Musicke according to the Instruments they represent.

In the middle of this Hal is A great Round hole, where the man pulling up a thing with a string, the water that is underneath casts up such a strong wind that, laying a Bal upon the mouth of that hole, it makes it spin above the ground as long as it keepes within the compass of the place. There are also, at the entrance into this place, two holes of each side of the doore, out of which the wind passes in such a vehement manner by the force of the water, that though a man be never so much discomodated with the heate of summer, yet, standing a while at that place, he may be soon freed from that trouble by the coole wind which proceeds from these holes.

Having dined at this Towne, wee rode about a mile and came to Monte Dragone,¹ which place belongs to the Prince Burghese. Before wee came to the Pallace wee passed through A great grove, and so through A grott and other pleasant places, that if any thing in the world may be counted a Heaven on Earth, this place may be it. The Pallace is seated upon A high Hil, where, standing before the gates, one hath the most pleasantest prospect in the world. On the left hand one may easily discern the sea, which is 20 mile distant from thence, On the other side one may behold the Mountaine under which Viterbo is seated, which is 48 mile distant from thence. Under the Wals of this Pallace one may behold all the Blessings of Canaan, Corne, wyne and oyle growing altogether.

¹ So called from a fountain adorned with four dragons. It was built by Cardinal Marco Altemps in the time of Gregory XIII. The grand loggia of the garden was designed by Vignola, the fountains and waterworks by Fontana. The villa, long uninhabited, is now leased to the Jesuits for a school. Murray, p 477 ; Hare, p 685. There is an excellent description of villa, gardens and waterworks in Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed), pp. 107-108.

Then wee enterd into the Pallace, where the first Rome that wee saw was a very long gallery, over the doore of which is a picture representing all manner of Birds and Beasts, but every thing in it made so excessive lively, that Art and life can not be better expressed then in this piece. All this gallery is full of very fine and lively pieces, and, indeed, the Pallace is as stately and richly furnished as possibly any Prince can desire, though he have an estate equal to the owner of this Place, who is reported to have above 14 millions of mony lying in the Venetians' hands, besides other vast and large possessions.

When wee had seene the Pallace wee went into the garden, where, at the upper end, is a very fine waterworke, which doth not want for art and expense to make it delightful and pleasant. In the midst of it came out a great spout of water with such force that it seemed to thundre, snow, haile and raine, in the same manner as before wee had seene it at Frescata. After wee had seene what was here worth taking notice off, wee tooke horse and went to Tivoly, which is 12 mile distant, which is very famous for that marvalous and natural Cascata, which is on one side of the Towne, the water coming downe the River, fal downe the Rocke with such a monstrous force.

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March the 25th, the Pope went from his Pallace 25 of Monte Caval, with all his trane of Cardinals and Cavalcate, to the Minerva, where he was brought into the Church by sound of Trumpets upon men's shoulders, in his Chaire, and his tripple Crowne on his head, where, being sat downe among his Cardinals, and Masse being

*S. Maria
Sopra Minerva*

¹ Mortoft, no doubt, reserved this page for a description of Tivoli and the Villa d'Este. The reader is referred to Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 108.

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said, came then about 600 young wenches,¹ clad all in white and muffed up to their eyes. These entered into the Place where the Pope was, where two by two kneeling downe, received each of them a purse with a promise in it to receive 50 Crownes upon their day of marryage. After each one of these had received their doles, came about 80 young girles, also with Crownes of flowers on their heads, in token of chastity, so that they being once become Nunnes are to receive 100 Crownes a piece, and here received each of them a purse with promise to receive so many Crownes when they enter into Nunneryes. And this Ceremonie is observed every year on the 25th day of March, it being the Liberality of Certaine Princes and great men in Rome to be so bountifull to these poore Maides, and to give also the Pope for his paines in coming hither, though he is brought all the way, 300 Crownes; which is good wages for soe little worke.

In the evening wee went to the Chiesa Nova,² where wee heard againe the most sweete and ravishing Musicke, which without doubt is of more power to bring satisfaction to a man's soule than any other thing in the world beside, but here I was forced to give a farwel to all this more than Earthly musicke, in regard of our suddaine departure out of Rome, which will be before Any set day for that purpose can come about.

¹ Montaigne witnessed the same ceremony in 1581, and describes it in detail *Travels* (Eng. trans.), 1903, II pp 161-163. The function was presided over by the Confraternity of the Annunziata, and was attached to the church of S Maria Sopra Minerva by Paul II. There is a long description of the ceremony in Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy* (1688), Eng. trans., 1714, vol. 2, pt 1, p 8. He describes the girls as being "cloathed in white Serge and muff'd up like Ghosts in a great Piece of Cloth which covers their Head, leaving only a small Passage for their Sight, and oftentimes only a little Peep-hole for one Eye." There were 350 in all, but only 32 had chosen "St Paul's better Part," but here, as elsewhere, the reader must beware of Misson's statements concerning anything that relates to the Church of Rome.

² See above, p. 118, note 2.

March the 27th, 1659, after some months stay at Rome, wee departed from thence¹ towards Venice, and lay the night some 21 miles from Rome, at a place called Rignano.

The next morning, being the 28 day, wee tooke horse 28 and rode this day some 32 miles, and lay that night at a Citty called Terni. On the 29th day wee rode 37 miles, 29 and lay at an Hostery among the Mountaines. On the 30th wee rode 31 miles, and lay that night at A Citty 30 called Tollerentino. On the 31st wee dined at a Citty 31 called Macerata, and rode about 23 miles this day, and so arrived in the afternoone at the famous Towne of Loretto. All these Townes, and many other as wee passd along, being large and populous, wherein the Pope hath in each of them some Ecclesiastical man to govern them.

Loretto² stands upon a High Hill close by the sea side, *Loreto* which Towne is but little, yet continually ful of people, In regard a kind of superstitious devotion stirs up many to visit the Madonna of Loretto, in the habits of Pilgrims. And that which makes their devotion the greater, is the beleife that the very chamber wherein the Virgin Mary was borne, and wherein the Angel appeard to her, and wherein she nourished up Our Saviour, this very chamber is credibly beleevd to be the same that remains in the Church in this Towne of Loretto, and was brought out of Bethlem by An Angel, and set downe in Dalmatia, but after about 3 yeares and 7 months continuance there, it was carried from thence by an Angel into this place, in the year 1294, in the tyme of Edward the 1st of England. Being come to this place of Loretto, we went to see and enter into this Chamber of the Virgin's, which stands

¹ Mortoft now follows the ordinary post-route to Loreto.

² Loreto consisted of only one street within the walls, and a suburb, also of one street, outside. All the houses were inns or shops for the sale of beads. Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, i. p. 319, Moryson (reprint), i. p. 213. The legend relating to the Casa Santa is given in E. Hutton, *Cities of Romagna and the Marches*, 1913, pp. 167 ff.

almost at the upper end of the Church, having two dores to goe in at, and over them is written that no person is to enter in, upon pain of excommunication, with any weapons about him. Afterwards wee enterd into it, which we found full of people. The chamber seems to be of an ordinary bignesse, having nothing but the baire bricke within side.¹ On one End of it (where the chimney is, by which the Virgin used to warme herselfe) And over this chimney is the Image of the Madonna² with her sonn in her armes. It is made of cedar wood, and (as they say, if wee will beleeeve them) by the hands of St. Luke; she hath a crowne on her head, which sparkles soe much with diamonds and precious stones, that even the Crowne, and that upon the Child's head also, are esteemed inestimable. The garment that is upon her is of the color of gold, all about, from top to bottom, so beset with such big and sparkling diamonds and other rich Jewels, that they are even enough to shame the sun with there brightnessse. At the lower end of the Rome is a window barrd about with Iron grates, in which place, they say, the Angel came in and saluted the Virgin. All the Rome is hung about with vast silver and golden Lamps, which burne night and day Here wee saw the dish of the Virgin, out of which they say shee used to eate. They report that this chamber was the first Church that ever the Apostles dedicated to the service of God, for which cause they have sett up an Altar in this Rome on which they say Masse, under which very place they averre that St. Peter said Masse in. They report many miracles of this Lady of Loretto, and some are such great lyes that

¹ The Casa is a small brick house of the rudest construction; the room measures 13 × 29 feet

² The image, which is black with age and only 33½ inches in height, was carried off to Paris in 1798, but returned subsequently. Photo in E. Hutton, *Cities of Romagna and Marches*, 1913, p. 174.

they may make any person suspect the truth of the former; As some, being troubled with grevous diseases, Have been healed in travelling to the Lady of Loretto. Others falling downe very high and steepe places, calling upon the Lady of Loretto, have been set upon there feete without any harme, some being starke blind, and praying in this Chamber, have recovered their sight, others being barren and wanting children, having travelled to Loretto, and prayed there to the Madonna, have obtained there desire Many other and strange miracles they report their Virgin doth to those that visit her; which is as foolish to beleeve, as it is for those who are the Authors of such fables

Wee here saw that most famous and rich treasure¹ which is so much talked of, and which great Persons have offered to this Church of Loretto as markes of there devotion Here wee saw the Crowne and scepter of the Queene of Sweedland,² which Crowne is set all about with rubyes and other rich stones. Here are Pearles without number, and peares, plumbes, cheryes, and such like things made of pearle. Here are Rubyes, Saphirs, Ametysts, Topazes of extraordinary bignesse. Here is to bee seene A spread Eagle made all of great diamonds, and given by An empresse of Germany.³ There are many Priests' garments wrought about with pearles, diamonds

¹ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 342. "On the left hand of this roome stand great cupbords which opening above have little nets of strong wyar before them, which let in eyes to behold, but keep off hands from touching" See also Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 272. "Here is without dispute the greatest Treasure in Christendome and is daily increast by new Oblations from Catholike Princes, which the Turks and other Pyrates well know and would make incursions were the place as weake as it is little." Compare *Letters of James, Earl of Perth*, Camden Society, 1845, p. 72. "It is fortified enough to hold out against any pirates that would adventure to rob the rich treasury"

² Christina of Sweden, "given at her first comeing into Italy." Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 343

³ "The guift of Mary Queen of Hungary" Lassels, II. p. 333.

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and other precious stones ; especially one which is beset with diamonds, about a yard and a halfe in length, and those cut with such art that they may be opened and clasped as one pleased ; this garment is esteemed inestimable, and was given by A Duchesse in Germany to this place.¹ Here is also An Altar with all things pertaining to it, made all of Amber and inriched about with Diamonds, and was given by the Last Chancellor of Poland, A gift that may become the greatest Emperor In the world, rather then a subject to a Prince, but here the chancellor shewed the greatnesse of his mind, in that, though but a subject, for by his gift he exceeded all other kings and Emperors that had cast in there mites into this Treasure. Here is A golden dove, and a gem of a great bignesse that was given by the Prince Pamphilus,² who is now alive in Rome, a gift indeed worthy of any Prince. Here is also A Hart done round about with very large diamonds, which was given by the Queene of England,³ which hart opens in the middle, on one side of which is the picture of the Virgin, and on the other her owne picture. Here are also many other rich gifts, some given by the Popes, some by Cardinals, some by Princes of Germany, besides many Vessels of silver and gold, and the representations of certain Townes in Italy, made all in silver, so that onely the precious stones that are in this place are esteemed at 9 millions of gold.

After wee had tooke a full view of this Treasure, It
Apl. 1 being the 1st of Aprill, wee departed from Loretto, and

¹ " A whole compleat sute for the Altar (Priest, Deacon and Sub-deacon), so thuck covered with an embroderie of pearle, and those no little ones, that I could not perceive the ground of the stuff for pearle : all these were the present of Catherine Zamoisky, wife of the Chancelour of Polonia." Lassels, II p 346.

² See above, p. 136, note 1.

³ Queen Henrietta Maria. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 344.

went that night to Ancona,¹ some 15 miles off, which is a very Ancient Citty formerly belonging to the Romans, and is built close by the sea side. Here is a very fine port belonging to this Towne, close by which is An Arch Tryomphant² that was built by the Romans to the honour of Trajan; here is not much remarkable in this Towne, onely it is pretty large and populous, but the streetes are ill made, so that it soone wearyes any person to walke in them³

April the 2nd, wee departed from Ancona, and rode 2 all a long by the sea side, where, by the way, wee met with a Jesuite that spoke very good english, who kept us company 3 or 4 dayes, and seemed to be very civil and courteous. Wee dined this day at a Citty called Sinigaglia, 20 mile[s] from Ancona, and after dinner rode close again by the sea side until wee came to a Citty called Fano,⁴ some 15 mile[s] from the place where wee dined.

April the 3rd, wee ride through Pesaro,⁵ some 7 miles 3 from Fano, which is a very fine and handsome Citty, Pesaro

¹ Ancona was founded by the Doric Greeks from Syracuse. It was afterwards a Roman Colony. The harbour was enlarged by Trajan. "There is likewise a great traffick, and they do bring many Moors and Schiavons together to be sold" *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, xii p. 81.

² The well-preserved Triumphal Arch, erected A.D. 112 by the Roman Senate in honour of Trajan on the completion of the new quays. Compare Ed. Browne, Letter, in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, i p. 89: "The triumphall arch, as new as if it were made yesterday"

³ Compare Misson, *Voyage to Italy*, ed. of 1714, i. pt. i. p. 327. "The streets of Ancona are narrow and consequently dark there are neither very fair Houses nor fine Piazza's, nor considerable open Places in it, and the unevenness of its Situation renders it very inconvenient."

⁴ "A much larger city than I had imagined, well walled and fortified." Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, i. p. 324.

⁵ "This is a very elegant and pleasant city, having a handsome piazza, encompassed with fair buildings. therein stand many ancient stoncs with inscriptions." Ray, i. p. 325. "It is a very pleasant place, wherein every thing is to be had at a reasonable rate." *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, xii. p. 81.

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and a place much renowned for the figgs that growes hereabouts, which we had so much curiosity as to taste, and found report no lyar, for without doubt the world affords not the like figges. In this Citty the Queene of Sweedland lived about a yeare,¹ where the Inhabitants, thinking themselves highly honoured to have a Queene amongst them, much impoverished themselves to give her content and satisfaction. That gentleman, that the Queene caused to be killed at Fontenbleau, was a native of this Towne, for which cause, ever since, the Inhabitants have had the Queene in much hatred.

From thence wee rode to a Citty called Rimini,² some 20 mile distant from Pesara, all the way being as even and plaine as any person could desire. The Citty is very large and very Ancient, wherein is An Arch tryumphant³ that was built by the Romans to the honour of one of the Emperors. There is A Cardinal in this Citty as Governour for the Pope.

4 April the 4th, wee dined at a Citty Cesena,⁴ 19 mile from the place where wee lodged, A Citty about a mile

¹ The Queen of Sweden resided at Pesaro from November, 1656, to June, 1657. De Bildt, *Christine de Suède et Le Cardinal Azzolino*, Paris, 1899, pp. 62 ff. On the murder of Monaldeschi, see *Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff. The treachery of which he was accused was little more than a breach of trust. The Queen interpreted it as high treason and had him assassinated. See Ranke, *History of Popes* (Bohn's Library), 1874, II p. 404, III. p. 343.

² "A pretty proper city, having streight streets like Pesaro and Fano, yet are the buildings but low." Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, p. 325. Mortoft was travelling along the Via Flaminia.

³ Porta Romana, or Arco d'Augusto, a triumphal arch of travertine erected by Augustus in B.C. 27 out of gratitude for the restoration of the Via Flaminia.

⁴ Cesena was one of the most ancient episcopal sees in Italy. Its first bishop was St. Philemon, A.D. 92. Lassels, II. 355, has merely, "Cesena, an Episcopal towne." Between Rimini and Cesena Mortoft must have crossed the Rubicon, but he does not mention it. James, Earl of Perth in 1695 (*Letters*, Camden Society, 1845, p. 70), had his attention called to the spot, but notwithstanding his vetturno's conviction, the identity of the river is not quite clearly established. Most of the towns and villages in the district have made claims, and in an action at Rome in 1756 the court decided in favour of the claim of the Uso, beyond the small town of Savignano. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 355.

and halfe in length, very large and full of people Parting from hence, wee passed through a great Citty called Forly,¹ 10 mile from the other place, and riding 10 mile more wee came to A Citty called Faenza,² where wee lodged, A great and large place and very full of People, and where the Pope hath a Cardinal as Governour of the Towne

Forly

Faenza

April the 5th, riding about 30 mile this day, wee 5 came to the Faire and famous Citty of Bologna,³ and in coming to this Citty wee rode through, without doubt, one of the finest and pleasantest countryes in the world: for at least for 120 mile as wee rode along the wayes were as even as if they had beene walkes in a garden, And all the feilds, for so many mile together, were full of nothing but corne and other graine, that it seemes to be one of the fruitfulllest and pleasantest Countryes that the world doth afford.

Bologna

That Bologna is a bounding in a very plentiful manner in all things necessary to the life of man, is not unknowne to any, and therefore it is called, as a Proverb, Bologna the fatt; the Citty is counted to be about 5 miles in circuite, and 2 miles in length It is built in the manner of a ship,⁴

¹ Forli

² Faenza, "a pretty little city incompass'd with a strong brick wall, at present neglected and out of repair famous for earthen ware made here, esteem'd the best in Italy" Ray, *Travels*, ed. of 1738, 1 p 331. Compare, Lassels, II. p. 356.

³ For an excellent description of Bologna, c 1610, see *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, XII. pp. 84 ff. The people had a bad reputation in the 17th century One German traveller recommends his fellow-countrymen not to venture out into the streets at night if they wished to avoid being murdered. See Locatelli, *Voyage de France*, 1664-1665, ed. A. Vautier, Paris, 1905, p 172, note 5 A traveller of 1705 writes "The ladies here are reputed very handsome, but have all flat noses like their dogs, but extreme good eyes." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.*, 1900, p 171. Earlier (p 170) the same traveller says "The ladies wear the richest clothes and more jewels than ever I saw anywhere, and none of them without a coach and a gentleman usher to lead them in and out"

⁴ Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 114, says. "Built like a ship whereof the Torre d'Asinelli may go for the mainmast."

being more in length then in breadth. There is no garrison in this Towne, the safety of It lying onely in a Bricke Wall that goes round about the Citty, and in the valour of the Inhabitants. They make here abundance of silke, with which they benefit other countryes. They make here excellent Sauciges, which are much esteemed of in forrain Countryes.¹

In this Citty there is a very large Place for the Inhabitants and strangers to walke upon. In the middle of it is a very fine fountaine, adorned about with statues of Brasse,² and on the topp stands Neptune with his Trident in his hand. On this place is the Pallace of the Cardinal, that is the Pope's Legat and Governour of the Towne.³ The streetes of the Towne are very large and broad, and covered every where about the Citty with large cloysters,⁴ so that one may walke here without feeling the heate of the sun, or be in danger to be troubled by the raine.

The Churches in this Citty are very many, and many of them also very superb and stately, as the Church of

¹ Compare Reresby, *Travels* (Dryden House Memoirs), p. 65 f : "Here they drive a great trade in making all sorts of silks, velvets and satins especially" Also Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p. 152. "Their traffick here consisteth much in silks, velvets, olives, leather bottles, gellies, wash balls and little doggs for Ladyes, which here are so little that the Ladyes carrying them in their muffs have place enough for their hands too." Finch and Baines, in 1657, sent two Bologna dogs to Anne Conway, with minute instructions as to their care. A Malloch, *Finch and Baines*, Cambridge, 1917, p. 19. The famous sausages, according to Gibbon, were made of ass flesh. *Memoirs*, ed. Hill, 1900, p. 165. Dr. Johnson thought highly of them. "The sausages there are the best in the world, they lose much by being carried." Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, II p. 195.

² The Neptune fountain in the Piazza del Nettuno, by Giov. da Bologna (1563-1567), one of the most effective works of the late Renaissance.

³ Palazzo Comunale, a large Gothic building begun about 1250, but largely rebuilt 1425-1430, and restored 1885-1887.

⁴ Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I p. 142, describes the arches "like the Covent Garden in London, onely the pillars are round. These Arches bring great conveniency to the inhabitants, who can walk all the towne over coole and dry even in July and January."

St Peter,¹ where lyes interred many Cardinals, Bishops, and other men of learning, and adorned with many reliques of saints, pictures, with other ornaments of gold and silver. Upon the Place is a very great Church dedicated to St. Petronio.² In this Church Charles the 5th received his Crowne from Pope Clement the seaventh. The Church of St Francesco³ is very stately And rich, wherein is a Convent⁴ of Franciscan Friers, which have their Convent so superb and stately, that it seemes rather to be an Emperor's Pallace than A Convent of Religious Friers.

The Dominican Friers have also in this Towne A very stately and rich Church,⁵ where, mounting up some 6 or 7 steps we enterd into A Chappel, which was painted about with extream good pictures, and wherein are two most excessive bigg silver lamps, and many large silver candlesticks. There Convent also is as stately and magnificent as any great Prince could not desire to have a more

¹ San Pietro, founded 910, choir 1575, restored in the baroque style in 1605.

² San Petronio, the largest church in the town, begun 1390, but unfinished Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1 p 146, says. "Alberta writ a hundred years ago that he thought it would not be ended but with the worlds end And I am half of his opinion, for when I passed that way last I found the scaffolds yet standing, which I had found there one and twenty years before." Charles V, the last Emperor to be crowned in Italy, was crowned under the canopy in the choir, Feby. 24, 1530 Armstrong, *Charles V*, 1 p 191

³ This magnificent structure, built 1246-1260, was desecrated in 1798 and converted into a Custom House In 1847 it again became a church, but in 1866 it was turned into a military warehouse. Now it is once more a church, and has been restored

⁴ Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1 p 146: "The monastery or Convent of the Franciscans with the rare row of pillars and portico towards the street, the excellent cloisters and the curious cellar" The convent buildings are now turned to various secular uses. A long portico, built by the brothers at the end of the 16th century, still lines the Piazza Malpighi. James, *Bologna*, Oxford, 1909, p 261.

⁵ S. Dominico, erected 1235 in honour of S Dominic, who died at Bologna 1221. The church was completely restored 1728-1731 The convent, with its fine cloistered "cortile," is now used as a barrack. Lassels (1. p. 144) describes it as "the fairest in Europe, in which 150 Fryars constantly live and study." James, *Bologna*, p 279. Fynes Moryson (reprint), 1. p 202, notes the excellent wine.

magnificent Pallace, and under the Cloysters of their Convent are great sellars, which are full of seyerall sortes of wyne, so that those Friers want nothing to make their life as pleasant and delightful as the greatest persons. At the high Altar of this Church is the Body of St Dominick (the founder of this order) in a coffin. Here is also, as they report, one of the thornes of Our Savior's Crowne, and a Bible written by the Prophet Esdra in the hebrew language. There are about 150 Friers in this Convent.

The Jesuites have two Colledges in this Citty. The Church belonging to one of them is called St Paul,¹ in regard there is the statue of St. Paul kneeling, and by it the statue of An executioner cutting off his head, both made of marble and placed upon the high Altar. There Convent, also belonging to this Church, is very rich and stately, and built after the fashion of a Prince's Pallace. The Jesuites in this Citty, as in others, have the bringing up of the youth, and all things of consequence belonging to the Church passing through there hands.

About halfe a mile out of the Citty, upon a high Hil, is a rich, fine Church and Convent belonging to the Carthusian Friers,² which are alwayes cloathed in a kind of white seurdge.³ The cloyster belonging to this Convent is very curiously painted by Caraccio, A most famous painter in his tyme,⁴ and for that cause noe stranger neglects to see this Cloyster, which beares the worke

¹ San Paolo. The two marble figures of St. Paul and the executioner are by Alessandro Algardi.

² S Michele in Bosco, now an orthopaedic institution.

³ Compare *Letters of James, Earl of Perth*, Camden Society, 1845, p 69: "A monastery of Olivetan Monks (they are a branch of St Bennet's Order), but wear white."

⁴ The series of pictures by Ludovico Caracci (1560-1609) and his pupils are in the cloister of the Caracci, but little remains of them. Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. p 60. Most visitors remark on the wonderful view from the monastery. There is an excellent description in the Hist. MSS Comm., *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.*, 1900, p 171: "The convent of St. Michael del Bosco here is the noblest situation

of so famous a man The Convent is As stately as the former, and built much after the same fashion. They here also keepe a Coach and horses for those of the order.

In this Citty is to be seene the Body of A Nunn, called Santa Catherina,¹ who, though dead about 400 yeares agoe, yet her Body, as is reported, remaines in as perfect a shape as though she were Living, her eyes also looking as lively and bright as any living persons. They report many strange storyes and miracles that she doth; she wants not persons dayly to visit her, and most of those that visit her forget not to performe their devotions before this dead Body. Wee were to see this miracle, but, it being a day whereon they use to change her cloaths, wee could not see it, unless wee came two howers after, which tyme not permitting us, so that wee went out of the Towne without seeing this Body, which is accounted one of the wonderfulllest things in Italy.

April the 7th, about 2 a clocke in the afternoone, we 7 went out of Bologna, and lay that night At An hosteria some 20 mile from Bologna.

The next morning, riding some 10 mile, wee arrived 8 at Ferrara, which was formerly A Dukedome, but, the Duke dying without lawfull Heirs, the whole Country and Citty fall into the Pope's hands.

Ferrara

in the world It stands upon the side of the Appenins, about half a mile from the city one sees from it at one time the city, the river Po for forty miles, all Lombardy from the Apenins to the mountains of Tivoli, about eighty good miles, and the Ferrarese to Padua, near eighty more. There are but two prospects in the world that are in competition with it, viz, that from the Carthusian monastery at Naples, and that near Damascus in Asia "

¹ Sta Catherina de' Vigri The body is still shown in the church of Corpus Domini. An account of the Saint's life is given in *Bologna Med. Town Series*, pp 189 ff. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1. p. 145: "I saw her body sitting straight up in a chair in her Religious habit. She holds her Rules in her right hand: and we see her face and feet plainly, but those black and dried up." Also Ed. Browne in *Sir Thos. Browne's Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1. p 97: "St Katherin, whose nayles are still par'd, and the print upon her lips where our Saviour kiss'd her, as odd a relic as can bee."

This Citty of Ferraro¹ is seated upon the River of Po, adorned with many sumptuous buildings and Pallaces. The streetes are very straight and large, being, to all appearance, the handsomest streetes of Any Citty in Italy² There are many Churches and Convents of Religious men, the handsomest and richest are those of the Carthusian³ And Dominican order,⁴ Both which orders have their Convents and Churches very stately and magnificent In the Church of the Dominican Friars wee saw the sumptuous Tomb of Ariostro, a Famous Poet,⁵ and the same that writ Orlando Furioso, which is so much esteemed off in England. There is a very strong Castle⁶ in this Citty, under which runs a kind of a River or Moate; it is very strongly built, and is the seate of the Cardinal that is here Governor of the Towne for the Pope.

¹ Ferrara was held by the House of Este as a Papal fief until 1598, when it was annexed to the Papal States on the death of Alfonso II

² But compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 117 "In a word a dirty town, and though the streets be large they remain ill-paved" Also Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 184 "However it is in Italy, and therefore (secundum nos) no meane City" Ernstinger (1595) is much more enthusiastic "Die gassen diser Statt sein sehr lustig aussgethailt, gepflastert, lang und brait, also das die ainige gassen, darin das furnembe Wiertshaus bey der gloggen, da ich eingekert, 1500 pass lang und 20 brait ist" *Raisbuch*, Stuttgart Litt. Verein, 1877, vol. 135, p. 69 Ferrara was noted for a famous inn, "The Angel," a veritable palace See Evelyn, *loc. cit.*, and Raymond, p. 185, but the writer of *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, xii p. 83, is in agreement with Ernstinger He says "Lodge at the Bell they will enquire of you in the gate what things you carry about you, but tell them you are scholars or students, and if you have cloke-bags or mails you must bring them into the weigh-house where they open them."

³ S. Cristoforo, a handsome Renaissance building, 1498-1553. "The Carthusian church is neat and full of good pictures" Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p. 360.

⁴ The church and monastery of San Benedetto, among the finest buildings at Ferrara It has suffered many vicissitudes It was occupied by Austrian, Russian and French troops, and was converted into a military hospital. It was only reopened for divine service in 1812.

⁵ The tomb of Ariosto was transferred to the Library in 1801 by the French.

⁶ Formerly the Ducal Palace, an ancient and picturesque structure, with four towers, surrounded by a moat.

Having stayed at Ferrara about halfe a day, wee tooke Boate in the Afternoone, and arrived at Venice the next day,¹ continuing upon the water some 24 howers, it being about 100 mile from Ferrara to Venice by water, which Citty is enough to astonish any Stranger at first sight, to see how the water runs all about it, being built, as it were, in the midst of the sea, there being such a number of Boats and Gundaloes, even to the number of 8 or 9,000, that by these Gundaloes one may goe to what quarter of the Citty he pleases.²

April the 10th, which was holy Thursday,³ was a great 10 Procession in the place by St. Marke's Church, where multitudes of People, having great wax Candles in their hands, followed the Priests that carryed A crucifix upon their shoulders, and after those Priests followed a Priest

¹ This journey is described by Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 185 "Having dind, wee went by boat downe the Channell, and about three mile beyond Ferrara came into the Po, which is the greatest and farthest navigable river in Italy, for breadth and length much above the Tyber it selfe . . . About evening wee came on the confines of the Venetian territoire and supt at Corbua, a place three miles distant from that most ancient, yet now dejected, City Adria, which formerly gave the name of Mare Adriaticum to the sea, now cald the Golfe of Venice. Three miles farther wee changd our Barke for a bigger Vessell to carrie us to Venice, and having now past thirty miles on the Po, wee came suddenly by an artificiall cut into the River Adice that passeth by Verona, and the next morning about the opening of the day, we enterd into the Golfe "

² On Venice, see Ray, *Travels*, ed of 1738, I p. 126, *Letters of James, Earl of Perth*, Camden Society, 1845, p. 56; Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 117; Reresby, *Travels* (Dryden House Memoirs), p. 54; Mundy, I pp. 89 ff., *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, XII p. 73 (after 1610). The Republic still retained the shadow of its ancient greatness, and was one of the few independent states in Europe still providing peace with civilisation. "Something of the charm of residence in Venice during her declining days may still be conjured up from the pages of Molmenti, but it was not until the 18th century that Venice achieved that mellown quiescence which Canaletto loved to depict on his canvases " D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 1925, p. 391.

³ Reresby was there at Easter, 1656, and witnessed much the same celebrations, only there were six flagellants, "their bodies bare from their hips upwards, scourging their own backs with whips with iron at the ends of the lashes, like the rowels of a spur, till they bled, in obedience to their confessors, who for some grand crime had enjoined them this severe penance " (p. 63). On the relics, see Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II, p. 384.

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that carryed the Hoast under a Canopy, bore up by 4 chief Persons. All those went about the Place and afterwards enterd into the Church of St Marke, where, being all enterd, and multitudes of other People also, A Priest stood up in a Pulpit and brought out certain Reliques to shew to the People, and among the rest, he held up a little glasse where in was about 3 spoonfuls of Blood, which they affirme to be the very blood of Jesus Christ that came out of his side, when the speare was run through It. At the holding up of the Blood all the People fell downe on their knees, and thumping their Breasts, seeming to make great sorrow and lamentation, and above in a gallery were three or 4 persons that continued whipping their Bare Backs with some pieces of Iron, the Markes of which superstitious devotion may continue, for ought as I know, til holy thursday comes about againe.

11 *April the 11th*, Being good Friday, was put forth in all the churches certain markes of Christ's crucifixion. The Churches in some places were hung with blacke, the Representation of the Virgin was set up in a kind of a Lamenting manner. The figure of Christ upon the Crosse was laid forth in the middle of the Churches, where People were all the day long in performing their devotion, some in weeping before these crucifixes, some kissing, and some praying before them.

About the Evening I went to the Church of St Marke, where I saw A Procession which was in commemoration of Christ's suffering on this day. First went multitudes of People with great wax candles, then came 9 or 10 Priests singing in a kind of a doleful manner, then followed one man which carryed a Crucifix on his shoulders, after him, many Priests. Then came a Priest that carryed the Hoaste under A canopy held up by 4 men. After these followed the Duke,¹ who seemes to be about 60 yeares of

¹ Jean Pesaro, elected 8 May, 1658, died 1 October, 1659.

Age. His upper garment was of red scarlet, buttond with about a dozen of gold Buttons, his garment next to that was of red Sattin lined with white sables. He had a kind of A linnen quoife on his head, having a Candle burning in his hand. After him followed some 60 Noble Venetians, ancient men, which are all of his Counsel, they going in their habit here all a like, which is a great, long, blacke gown lined with furr or sables, having A great flapp hanging over there left shoulder, and a Girdle about there middle, imbossed about with knobs of Silver. They were noe hatts, but a blacke cloath loose cap. After these Noble Venetians followed abundance of the Cittizens with Candles in there hands, and so went round about the Place and then into the Church.¹

About 8 a clocke at night was about 4 or 500 candles set on the windowes in the Place, which gave such a light that it seemd as if the place were on fire, when these Torches were lighted came multitudes of People in procession in the same manner as the former. It is a wonder to thinke what a multitude of torches were lighted this night, there being People in procession in all quarters of the Citty. They say there was 70,000 ducats spent in Candles in these processions.

April the 12th, Being the next day after Good 12 Friday, and on which day wee beleeeve Christ was in the grave, was a resemblance in all Churches in Venice of certaine Tombs set upon the Altars, wherein was inclosed the hoaste, as a representation of Christ's Body in the grave.

April the 13th, All these Tombs were opend and the 13 hoast taken away, to shew that then Christ was risen.

¹ Reresby, p 63 f, adds. "Then to vespers in St. Mark's church, which continued till the hour they believe our Saviour suffered, when all the candles, torches and lamps being put out, to figure the eclipse of the sun which then happened, the friers, by striking against the benches and seats with hammers, make a hideous and dismal noise, in similtude of the earthquake and the rending of the temple in twain."

And to make this day more splendid, was an Assembly in the Church of St Marke, of the Prince and Senators to heare high Masse. The Prince having A long Robe of Cloath of Silver, sitting just over against the High Altar, And the Pope's Legate sitting by him on his right hand. The Senators were all in red Sattin Robes. On the High Altar was exposed the Rich Treasure¹ that belongs to the Republicke. In the first place, there are 13 Crownes, all garnisht about with inestimable precious stones. Under these Crownes were put 12 Breast plates, All of fine gold, enameld all about with diamonds, pearles, Rubyes, and all manner of rich stones, so that even one of them onely is worth millions of gold, there are also 10 Balassis² which waigh better then 8 ounces a piece, there are vessels of Agat and emerald and some chiocciole³ made of Jewels, and cut with such admirable art that they seeme almost natural. There are also, among other most rich and precious Jewels, two great Crownes of most inestimable vawew. Two hornes of Unicornes, A Diamond that was given by Henry, King of France, 1574. A most rich chalice Done about with Rubyes and dyamonds, a piece not to be valued.

There is the Crowne, or Capp which they use to crowne the Duke withall at his first election, it is incircld about with great rowes of pearle and Jewels, dyamonds, and other precious stones, With a great crosse of emerald and a Rubye in it; on the top is a dyamond with six points, that it is impossible to see a thing more faire or precious then it; there is also a great chest, lined with Velvet, where is seene vases of many sortes, made of Jewels and precious stones, which were belonging to the Emperor Constantine; there are multitudes of other rich

¹ On the Treasury, see Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II. p. 386

² Balas, balas-ruby Compare Danett's translation of Comines (1614), "Fowerteene Rubies ballais." Oxford Eng. Dictionary.

³ Chiocciola = snail.

things, which would even amaze any person to behold them, and, amongst the rest, the swords of the famous Scanderbeg,¹ A great Warrior against the Turkes.

April the 16th, wee went to see the Arsinall,² A place¹⁶ most famous for the multitude of All things necessary belong[ing] to sea and Land. It is at one end of the Citty, engirt about with a great Wall It is counted 3 mile in circuite, there being continually, both in peace and warre, some 2,000 men at worke It was the saying of A great General belonging to Charles the 5th, that he had rather have the Arsenal in his power then 4 of the best Cittyes in Italy. Here are places for Artillery, of Powder, of Armes, of Corslets, of pikes, and al sortes of Armes, both for defense and offense, both for sea and land. Here is a very fine Armory, and without doubt the best in Italy, being armes enough for 60,000 horse and foote, and for above 30,000 men at sea, and, among the Armor of many famous men, wee saw that of the renowned

¹ His real name was George Castriot, 1404-1467, an Albanian chieftain. At one time a favourite of Amurath II, he, in 1443, deserted, renounced Islam and successfully held Albania against the Turks until his death

² On the Arsenals, little and great, see Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II pp. 392 and 406 The writer of *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, XII. p 75, says "This house of artillery in my opinion is as big as the City Canterbury" Pero Tafur, the Castilian knight, who was at Venice in 1438, has an interesting description of the wonderful organisation which could equip and man a galley while she was being towed past the windows of the Arsenal In spite of his date, I print a translation of the passage, for Tafur is far too little known. "One morning, coming from hearing Mass in St. Mark's, I saw about 20 men enter the square, some carrying benches, and others tables, and others chairs, and others large bags of money, thereupon a trumpet was blown and a great bell, which they call the prayer bell, was rung, and in an hour the square was full of men, who received pay and went to the dock-yard. And as one enters the gate there is a great street on either hand, with the sea in the middle, and on one side are windows opening out of the houses of the dock-yard, and the same on the other side, and out came a galley towed by a boat and from the windows were handed out to them, from one cordage, from another the bread, from another arms, from another the balistas and mortars, and so from all sides everything which was required, and when the galley had reached the end of the street all the men required were on board, together with the complement of oars, and she was equipped from end to end" *Andanças e Viages de Pero Tafur*, Madrid, 1874, p 214 f. A translation by me of Tafur's Travels is in the press.

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Scanderbeg, the Bulwarke, as it were, of the Christians against the Turkes in his tyme.¹

Padua

- 21 *April the 21st*, wee departed from Venice² and lay that night at Padua,³ going by water from thence, being accounted about 25 mile. This Citty is very large, wherein is a University which entertains gentlemen of al nations.

Vicenza

- 22 *April the 22nd*, wee went with the messenger of Lyons, and lay that night at Vicenza,⁴ 18 mile from Padua, a Citty belonging to the Venetians.

Verona

- 23 *April the 23rd*, wee departed from thence and lay that night at Verona,⁵ some 32 mile from Vicenza; this

¹ See above, p 185, note ¹. Compare Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II p 395 "It is sayd that the great Turk, hearing how Scanderbeg with his sword had cloven men in two, sent to him and desired him to send him his sword, his cutting sword, which he did the Turk tryed it upon his slaves, and findeing that he could not cleave men as Scanderbeg had done, sent him word that he had not sent him his true sword to whom Scanderbeg replied that he had sent him indeed his sword, but not his arme"

² Leaving Venice, Mortoft followed the same route as Mundy as far as Brescia. See Mundy, I pp 99 ff and notes. Between Venice and Padua a passage boat covered with arched hatches went daily. In Communes' time the boat was covered with tapestry and very neat, with four carpets within and velvet cushions to sit upon. *Memoirs* (Bohn's Lib), II p 169. The journey was remarkable for the lock system in use. Ed. Browne, *Travels*, 1685, p 194, Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 122. The best account of the journey known to me is in Ernstinger's *Raisbuch*, Stuttgart Litt Verein, 1877, vol 135, p 38 (1593).

³ To the notes in Mundy, *loc. cit.*, add Ray, *Travels*, ed of 1738, I p 174, Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p 122, Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, II, p 426, Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, p 205; Ed Browne, *Travels*, 1685, p 195; Reresby, *Travels* (Dryden House Memoirs), p 51. On life at Padua in the 17th century, see A Malloch, *Finch and Baines*, Cambridge, 1917, pp. 10 ff. The writer of *A True Description*, Harleian Miscellany, XII p 129, says "There is an overplus of all manner of provision for man's use, at a very cheap rate: there are excellent good wine, bread, fish, flesh, fowl and fruit. When you come thither lodge at Alla Stella, the Star"

⁴ Mundy, I p 101. Compare Evelyn, *Diary* (Globe ed.), p. 131: "This sweet town has more well-built palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy." There is an excellent description in Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 221. Compare Reresby, p. 51, and Ed. Browne, *Travels*, 1685, p 199.

⁵ On Verona, see Mundy, I p. 101. Also Ed. Browne, *Travels*, 1685, p 200, with plate of the amphitheatre.

Citty is also subject to the Venetians, and is very large and full of People. In it is an Amphitheater which was built by the Ancient Romans, and is almost whole and entire.

April the 24th, wee went from Verona and lay²⁴ that night, some 22 mile distant, at a little Towne¹ by which runs a great Lake, called the Lake du guard

April the 25th, wee departed from thence, and rid²⁵ some 18 mile and came to Brescia,² a great and large Citty, and subject to the Venetians. The Inhabitants in former tymes have raised many warres and commotions, but at present the Citty is under the peacable subjection of the Venetians, yet the people retaine some markes of their ancient fiercenesse, Both by the cruelty of their lookes, and guns and swords which they continually cary about them. Brescia

April the 26th, wee departed from Brescia,³ and²⁶ rid some 14 mile to a place called Boremo, where wee dined, and afterwards passed a Lake about 14 mile in length, and then rid other 14 mile and lay that night at a little Towne called Courtl.

April the 27th, wee parted from thence, and rid along²⁷ through the mountaines upon very bad and dangerous way, and rid this day not above 26 mile, and lay at a

¹ Pescheira. See Mundy, I p 104 "A strong castle"

² See Mundy, I, p 104 Compare Raymond, *Il Mercurio Italico*, 1648, p. 235: "Brescia . . . may be cald the Venetians Magazine, here is a perpetuall appearance of Warre though they live in peace, every shop is stord with Armes"

³ Mortoft's route is not easy to follow He seems to have crossed the Lago d'Iseo (Ball, *Central Alps*, 1911, pt. II. p 368, Coolidge, *Alps in Nature and History*, 1908, p. 355). He may then have taken one of three passes—the Splugen, the Septimer, or the Bernina The Septimer Pass, now hardly known by name, was, until the construction of the present carriage road over the Splugen, the safest and the easiest of access (Ball, p 194; Coolidge, p. 182), but Lassels recommends what appears to be the Bernina (*Voyage of Italy*, I. p. 58). He adds: "others to avoid the snow of the Berlino are forced now and then (as I was once) to passe over the mountain Splug, which is a hill enough for any traveler." The Septimer and the Bernina avoided the horrors of the Via Mala, upon which a whole volume might be written. On the Bernina, see Ball, p. 234, and Coolidge, p. 184.

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little Village in the mountaines, where wee could hardly get any thing to lye upon.

28 *April the 28th*, departing from this dismall place [hieroglyphics] wee rid some 30 mile this day, most of it being very bad and difficult way to passe, being constrained to walke a foote 4 mile downe a Mountain, and soe wee enterd into the Country of the Valtolines, which are a People that have 4 or 5 little Townes in their possession, but among the Mountaines, All Catholickes, and under the power of the Grisons.

29 *April the 29th*, we rid some 26 mile and passd over some hils and mountains, and so coming to a Lake wee passed over it, being about [?] 10 mile in length and lay at the Towne where it ended.

30 *April the 30th*, wee rid 18 mile and dined at a pretty big Towne belonging to the Valtolines. After dinner wee had 8 or 10 mile of extreame bad way, being constrained to goe up mountains and Rockes even until night, and so lay at the foote of a greate Mountaine that seperates the Country of the Valtolines from that of the Grisons.

May 1 *May the 1st*, wee rose about 3 a clocke in the Morning to passe this most dangerous Mountaine,¹ being about 7 howers before wee could get to the topp of it, This mountaine being counted by all 9 mile up to it, and as many before one can get to the bottom of it againe. The way here was very Slippery and excessive cold, soe that being at the topp of it, the wind was so excessive and the snow so thicke, that it made one feele a great extreamity of cold, but by 12 a clocke wee gott of from this horrible Mountaine, and soe enterd into the Countrye of the Grisons, which are a people like the Swizes, and speake Dutch, they are mixt In their religion, some Papists and some Protestants.

¹ On Alpine travel at this time, see Busino's experiences in 1617 whilst crossing the Passes of San Marco and the Splugen, in Record Office, *Venetian transcripts*, vol cXLII, pp 3 ff, abstracted in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S., 1 p 61 (1916, January 22); Bates, *Touring in 1600*, London, 1911, pp 294 ff, Hantzsck, *Deutsche Reisende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 99.

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Riding some 4 dayes Journye in this Countrye, wee came to their chiefe Citty called Coire,¹ a place built by the side of a Mountain, the Inhabitants whereof are all Protestants.

Coire

The next day, being the 6th of May, wee entered the Countrye of the Swizzes, which are a People that have 6 13 Cantons, or Provinces, belonging to them, 7 of which Provinces are Catholickes, and the other 6 Protestants. Riding two dayes journy in this Countrye, wee came to a Town called Ratzville,² all the Inhabitants whereof are Papists, which is the cause that the Protestant Swizzes of Zuricke beseiged them some 4 yeares agoe, but the Inhabitants soe manfully defended themselves that the other party lost 8,000 persons before the Towne, and so were forced to raise their seidge, and leave to them the use of their Religion.

Rapperschwyll

The next day, which was the 9th, wee passed a lake of some 20 mile in length, and soe came to Zuricke, which, 9 next to Berne, is esteemed the chiefe Citty in Zwitterland. This Citty is very large and well peopled, the lake³ runing cleare through it, there being two Bridges of Boards over it from one sid[e] the Citty to the other. There is [not] a Papist suffered to dwell i[n] it.⁴

Zurich

¹ Coire, "the head towne of the Grisons." Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, I. p. 57, for a description of the church.

² Rapperschwyll The reference is to the fighting during the first Villmergen war, 1656-1657. Zurich and Berne attempted in 1656 to break the power of the Catholic cantons and invested Rapperschwyll, but after a disastrous defeat at Villmergen in January, 1657, they were obliged to lay down arms. Oechsli, *History of Switzerland*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 220 f

³ Compare Bishop Burnet, *Travels*, ed. of 1750, p. 62. "The Lake is there about half a Mile broad, the Bridge is about twelve Foot broad, but hath no Rails on either Side, so that if the Wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a Man is in great danger of being blown into the Lake." The old wooden bridge was not removed until 1875. Murray's description in 1874 is practically the same as Bishop Burnet's. He adds that the boards were loose and laid (not nailed) upon piers. *Switzerland*, 15th ed., p. 34.

⁴ Mortoft's manuscript breaks off abruptly here

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